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Trevisa's Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum

Sermon by FitzRalph

AND

þe Bygynnyng of þe World

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

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temporalte as in spyrytualte ¶ Lorde pat may be schewide lytlich by auctorite of pe
gospel seyinge ¶ pe kep of holy chirche holdep pt petr pe apostle was ordeyned cristus vi
cayre for hym selfe & for his successors & sr pt is full wrape may do pe same pat
his lord may vshawe he is made vicayre how fulle power pey owte eny tyrandelliche
of policy ¶ panne zif ze may nowt denye pt cest pt is lord of heuene & of eyre
may ordeyne & make statutes of zoure temporalte ze may nowt denye pe pointe
schame pat cristes vicayre hap pe same power ¶ Charles ich hane herde of wise
writers pt pee schal distingue pree dyuerse tymes of crist: one of his manhed and
anoper of his power & mageste ¶ pe tyme of his manhed was from pt he toke flesch
& blode anoon to his passion ¶ pe tyme of his power & mageste was & is after
pe ascencion schame pe seide al power is zeuen to me in heuene & in eyre pemsa.
¶ Here takep hede of pe knyztes menyng & of pe clerkes menyng also for pe wordes
pey nowt fulle vnderstood for al pe tyme pt cristes manhed pt was tofore his pas
sion was tyme of his myzt power & mageste for bifore his passion he ined
nowt into hym & sceled blynde & lame & many man sek men & hadde pe ece &
heryde & weder & fendes attendeynt to his desyres & seode fyue pousand of men
wip fyue loues of breed & tefre fisches alle pe dayes of pe zere men ho pey to lif & zaf
his a myzte myzt & power ouer alle pe deueles & fendes and schedde of his blis to
petr & iames & ioon & rede vpon pe see in gryete tempest of wedy & ost pe see.
¶ Also schame he sent his disciples to fersche hym pe asse to yate on into iesim he seide
zif eny man seip ouzt to zow seip pt pe lord hap to do pey & in his zoyng he
was worschipped as a kyng & some spradde clopes in his wey & some bowes & pame
was pe yphete fulfilled seip douztes of ayon to pe kynges comep to pee meke &
mylde sittyng vpon an asse ¶ Also in tyme he droz biggynge & sellyge out of pe
temple as lord & kyng ¶ Also pis zere was in myzt & power & he dide al pis
& many oper gryete deedes bifore his passion pame bifore his passion was tyme of
his power bot his myzt ¶ & after his passion was & is tyme of his manhed sper
after his passion seynt steuene seip hym in his manhed stonde in pe fader pzt side
but nowt but in pe distinction pt is make bitwene pe deyte & pe knyzt of
pe tyme of cristes manhed & of pe tyme of his myzt power & mageste take
pese wordes pei specily eny to of pe & pe knyzt specily in pis manere pese
was ordeynes cristes vicayre for pe state of his manhed & nowt for pe state of his
blisse & mageste he was nowt make cristes vicayre in doyng pt cst dop nowt in
blisse but zeuep to folowe hym in his doyng pt he dide hey on eyre pame he zaf
his vicayre pt power pt he vsed heye in eyre bifore ¶ & zeuep pise pes hy holy
spirit & take witnesse of crist & of holy spirit as pt dop. so cst seide to pylat
my kyngdom is nowt of pis worold. Also he dep pt he come nowt to be serued but
to serue ope men Luce 12. And oon seide to cst maist say to my broper pt he
depayte heritage wip me. cst answerede & seide man who hap made me iuge
to depte bitwene zou Luce 12. so pt he yeest openlich pt cst was nowt iuge &

dep.

British Museum Harleian MS. 1900, fol. 16 (reduced)
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Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum

Richard FitzRalph's Sermon: 'Defensio Curatorum'

AND

Methodius: 'þe Bygynnyng of þe World and þe Ende of Worldes'

BY

JOHN TREVISA

VICAR OF BERKELEY

Now first edited from the MSS. Harl. 1900, St. John's College, Camb., H. 1, Add. 24194, Stowe 65, and Chetham's Library

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS., TREVISA'S LIFE AND WORKS, AND A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE

BY

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PREFACE

In this edition of John Trevisa's translations of (1) Occam's *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*, (2) Fitz-Ralph's Sermon, *Defensio Curatorum*, and (3) Methodius, *The Beginning and the End of the World*, all the known manuscripts containing them have been used, except the Burleigh House MS. The British Museum MS. Harleian 1900 contains the *three* works. This I have used as the basic text. The *Dialogue* and the *Sermon* are found in four others, viz.: (1) British Museum MS. Additional 24194, (2) Stowe 65, in the British Museum, (3) Cambridge University, St. John's College, H. 1, and (4) Chetham's Library MS., in Chetham's Library, Manchester. These are used in collating, and designated thus: Additional = A, Cambridge = C, Chetham's Library = Ch, and Stowe = S. In parallel columns with the Methodius tract is printed a somewhat different version in Northern English, found in the British Museum, MS. Additional 37049. In parallel columns with the *Dialogue* is printed Berthelet's edition (1530?).

In collating the MSS., only a few spelling variants have been noted. The introduction contains: (1) A description of the various English MSS. containing the texts, with a list of many of the Latin MSS. and printed editions; (2) an investigation into the life and works of John Trevisa; and (3) a study of the language of the MSS.

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I wish to express my thanks especially to Professor James Finch Royster, Head of the Department of English, University of North Carolina, who first suggested this study to me, and who started me in the work; to Dr. John Matthews Manly, Head of the Department of English, University of Chicago, Professor Thos. Albert

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Knott, formerly of the University of Chicago, now of the University of Iowa, and Professor Francis A. Blackburn, University of Chicago, who were my first teachers in Old and Middle English, and who gave me a love for the subject. Professors Manly and Knott were most kind and considerate in giving helpful suggestions, and in checking my material as the work proceeded.

During the summer of 1914, when I copied the MSS. in England, I received help and assistance from so many people that it would be quite impossible to speak of them all here. I wish, however, to mention the following: Mr. J. A. Herbert, Deputy-Keeper of MSS., and Supts. Flower and Wood of the MSS. Dept. of the British Museum; Mr. R. Farquharson Sharp, Supt. of the Reading Room, British Museum; Mr. C. Sayle and Mr. G. G. Butler, Librarians of University Library and Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge University; Mr. F. Madan, Librarian of Bodley, and Mr. W. A. Stevenson, Librarian of St. John's College, Oxford University; Mr. H. Crossley, Librarian of Chetham's Library, Manchester; the Librarian at Lambeth Palace; the Supt. and Assistants of the Record Office, London.

The following have my thanks, because of much information received through letters: Miss Alice D. Greenwood of Oxford—hints and suggestions most helpful; Mr. Thos. M. Rutter, Assist. Librarian of Edinburgh University; President H. N. MacCracken, Vassar College; the Librarian, University of Glasgow; Mr. Alfred de Burgh, Assistant Librarian, Trinity College, Dublin; Sir Leslie Faulkner, Burghley House, Stamford; Lady Tollemache, Helmingham Hall, Stowmarket; Mr. P. E. B. Porter, The Hermitage, Saltash, Cornwall; Lady Coryton, Pentillie Castle, St. Mellion, Cornwall; Henry Jenner, F.S.A., Hoyle, Cornwall; Rev. J. Harvey Bloom, Stratford-on-Avon; Dr. J. Hambley Rowe, Bradford; Rev. H. J. Wilkins, D.D., Vicar of Westbury-on-Trym; Mr. Charles Wordsworth, 8 Nicholas

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Hospital, Salisbury. These and others gave me valuable bibliographical material and other information.

It is altogether impossible to express my appreciation and thanks for the kindly and courteous assistance of Mr. John Munro, former Secretary of the Early English Text Society. I am under a great debt to Mr. Munro for giving me the right start on my arrival in England.

I wish also to express my thanks to Sir Israel Gollancz, Hon. Director of the E.E.T.S., and to Miss Mabel Day, D.Lit., Assistant Director and Secretary of the E.E.T.S., who have shown consideration and kindness at every stage of the work.

A great debt of gratitude is due to Professor William H. Hulme, Western Reserve University, for valuable hints and suggestions, and for his kindness in loaning me his MS. copies of Trevisa's 'Nicodemus'.

It has been a real pleasure to work with Mr. Frederick Hall, Controller of the Oxford University Press, and his staff in the printing of this work.

And finally I appreciate the kindness of Dr. A. W. Crawford, Head of my own Department, who has shown consideration in so many ways.

I am above all indebted to my wife, who assisted me in copying the MSS., in reading the proof, and in checking my work.

A. J. P.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA,
WINNIPEG, CANADA.

March, 1925.

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INTRODUCTION

PART I

MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS

THE MANUSCRIPTS

A. English Manuscripts

MS. Harleian 1900.[1]

This MS. is described in *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum, Bibl. Harl.*, vol. ii, pp. 318–20 (1808). The writer names the different works in the MS., giving a description and digest of each. He seems not to have known that the *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum* was a translation of a Latin work, as his opening sentence shows:

'A parchment book in fol. bought and given by my noble Lord Harley: wherein are contained more of the Translations & Compositions of John de Trevisa, Vicar of Berkeley & Chaplain to Thomas Baron of Berkeley, than I have seen in any other book. They are:

1. Dyalogus inter Militem & Clericum: i. e. between the above mentioned Lord & himself: in English.'

[1] Babington and Lumby made some use of this MS. in their edition of Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* for the Rolls Series (1865–86), 9 vols. They begin to use it occasionally for collation in vol. ii, along with the MS. Cotton Lib. D. vii, designating them as β and γ respectively. Mr. Babington, in vol. i, in enumerating the works of Trevisa, mentions the Harl. MS. as containing our three works: the *Dialogue*, *Sermon*, and *Methodius* tract. He thinks that it belongs to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In the appendix to vol. vii of the above work (pp. 501–38), we find a selection from Harl. 1900 printed, beginning at fol. 248 a (three lines from bottom), consisting of chapters 15–26. This is printed in full, and Cot. MS. is collated with it, because they differ widely from the version contained in the MS. used, viz. St. John's College MS. H. 1. This

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The MS. is a folio volume, containing 310 folios, 310 b only half written. Size $13\frac{7}{10} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, printed portion 10×7 in. The initial letters of the chapters are three or four lines deep in red and blue. It is written in a large plain hand, with many abbreviations. Mr. J. A. Herbert, of the British Museum, dates it at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Contents:

1. *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum.*

   ff. 1–5. Single columns, 40 lines to a page, except last page $35\frac{3}{4}$. Each line averages about 15 or 16 words. Written in a large careless hand, with many abbreviations. Some of first pages are greatly worn, or much faded. They give evidence of much examination. The first line, consisting of the title, is in Latin. There are catchwords on every page.

2. *Sermo Domini Archiepiscopi Armacani.*

   ff. 6–21 a. Single column. 6 a = 38 lines, others 40, except 21 a = 37 lines and three words. Title at first in Latin. At end Latin 'Explicit'. Catchwords. Written in same hand as above, and as free from mistakes. Scarcely any marginal notes. The beginning of many sentences indicated by red and blue sign ℚ′. The same sign is used in the three extracts.

3. *Methodius,* 'þe begynnyng of þe world and þe Ende of Worldes.'

   ff. 21 b–23 b. Double columns, 49 lines, six or seven words to a line. Chapters or sections begin with large letters, either all red, or with blue groundwork and red border. Written in the same hand as the two former, but

is the only part of the Harl. MS. that has thus far been printed.

Miss Alice Greenwood, in her article on 'The Beginnings of English Prose', in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (vol. ii, pp. 503–4) speaks of Harl. 1900 containing the three works of this edition. She gives it as dated 1448. Dibdin describes it in his *Typ. Antiq.* 1810 (Dibdin, Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 140); it is also described by Townsley in 1821 (*Illustrations of Bibl. Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 49). It is mentioned by Körting in his *Grundriss* (p. 141), but only with reference to the *Polychronicon*; by Morris and Skeat (Part 2, pp. 235 ff. and 339) in their *Specimens*, where they take a few readings from it, in the selection from the *Polychronicon* from MS. Cot. Lib. D. VII; Professor Emerson (*Middle English Reader*, pp. 220–5 and p. 311) mentions it as containing *Polychronicon*.

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much smaller. The same abbreviations are used, and as many of the words were proper names difficulty was experienced in reading them. There is no title at the beginning. It closes with 'liber Metodij ep*iscopi*'.

4. *Index to Polychronicon.*

ff. 24–41. This is in two columns, and is written in the same hand as above. In ff. 24 and 25 there is a hole $1\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ in. The same blemish is found in ff. 29 and 30. Otherwise this portion is very clean. f. 41 b is blank except part of col. 1. Each new section begins with a large illuminated letter, usually with blue ground-work and red outline, or vice versa. On f. 41 b in right column, near the top, in a later hand is written: 'This indenture made The eight Day off Nouember The Yere off oure lord Mccccxlviii betwyxt William Goodman.'

Across both columns near bottom of f. 41 b are the following words in another hand: 'This indenture made the eight day of nouembre the yere of oure lord Mccccxlviii betwyxt william goodmann of chestre citie gentilmann and'[1]

5. *Dialogue between Dominus and Clericus.*

ff. 42–3 b (6 lines). Single column, 40 lines.

6. *Trevisa's letter to Thomas Lord Berkeley,* 43 b (lines 7–32).

7. *Polychronicon.*

ff. 44–310 b ($20\frac{1}{2}$ lines). Single column, 40 lines to a page, written in same hand as previous. A few marginal notes, most of these in the same hand as MS.

(*a*) Prefaces ff. 44–6 b ($\frac{2}{3}$ page).
(*b*) Book I. ,, 47–91 a ($\frac{1}{2}$ page).
II. ,, 91 a–121 b ($\frac{1}{3}$ page).
III. ,, 121 b–164 a ($\frac{1}{2}$ page).
IV. ,, 164 a–196.
V. ,, 196–234 a (whole page but four lines).
VI. ,, 234 a–264 a ,, ,, ,,
VII. ,, 264 a–310 b ($\frac{1}{2}$ page).

It closes thus: 'God be þonked of alle his dedes þis *tra*nslacio*un* is ended in a þursday þe XVIII day of Aueryl þe ȝere of our*e* lord a þousand þre hundrid four*e* score & seuene, þe tenþe ȝere of Kyng Richard þe secunde aft*er* þe conquest of England, þe ȝere of my lordes age sire Thomas Lord of berkeleye þat made me make þis *tra*nslacio*un* fyue & þritty.'

[1] Four words are erased.

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On the leaf before folio 1 the following are found in different hands:

'Sent in by my Lord Harley 12 July 1714.'

'This MS. is become doubly valuable since the loss of Cott. Lib. D. VII. It is much more ample than the printed copy of Trevisa's *Higden*, in which Caxton has greatly changed the language, and omitted many passages. F. D.'

In pencil is written:

'Other copies, equally fine with this, are in the Bodleian Library, and in Tennison's Library. T. M.'

St. John's College, Camb. MS. H. 1.[1]

This MS. does not contain the *Methodius* tract. Babington and Lumby used it as the basis of their edition of Trevisa's *Polychronicon*. A partial description is found in Vol. I, lv and lvi. Full descriptions are given by James and Cowie.

The following is a part of James's description:[2]

'Vellum, $15\frac{5}{8} \times 12$, ff. 206 + 2, double columns of 44 lines. cent. XIV late, after 1387.'

'Very well written and with good ornaments. On fly-leaf: "Elegantissimum hunc librum manuscriptum Bibliothecae Coll. S. Joh. Evang. donavit Mr. Baile de Newington in agro Middlesexiae A. D. 1674."'[3]

Contents: 1. 'Dialogus inter clericum et militem', translated by Trevisa from the Latin of Ockham. f. 1.

A fine border of English ornament, gold, blue, and pink. Initial D green ground with gold flourishing. On L. the Knight in pink gown, gold chain, and loose blue cap: on R.

[1] Mr. Babington (Rolls Series of *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. lviii) thinks this and Add. 24194 are only a few years later than Trevisa's translation of *Polychronicon*. Mr. C. W. P. Orton, of St. John's College Library, Camb., in a letter July 9, 1915, points out to me that the dress of the Knight in the first miniature is of about 1399. Miss Greenwood speaks of this MS. as used by Babington and Lumby in their Trevisa, and as containing the *Dialogue* and *Sermon*. Körting speaks of it only in connexion with *Polychronicon*. Morris and Skeat give a few readings in their selection. Emerson speaks of this MS. being printed by Caxton in 1482. Mätzner (*Altenglische Sprachproben*, vol. i, pt. 2, pp. 341–73) and Dr. Manly (*English Prose*, 1137–1890, 1909, pp. 11–12) take their selections from this MS.

[2] *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of St. John's College, Camb.*, p. 235.

[3] Fol. 1 b. This is the only mark on a blank folio.

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the clerk in blue gown with tippet, lined with white fur, black skull-cap, holding book.

Ends f. 5: and nouȝt man for þe holy day.

Expl. Dialogus inter clericum et militem.

2. Inc. sermo domini Archiepiscopi Armachani (translated by Trevisa). f. 5.

Demeþ nouȝt bi þe face but riȝtful dome ȝe deme. Joh. 8° c° holy fader in þe byginnynge of my sermon.

There are some marginalia in a hand of the fifteenth century, also in English, traversing the preacher's statements.

Ends f. 18 b: but riȝtful dome ȝe deme. Qui cum patre, etc.

3. Table in Latin to the *Polychronicon*. f. 19.

4. Table in English to the same. f. 26 b.

5. The *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden in the English version of Trevisa. f. 34.

Ending: 280 a: 'to conferme þe pees and couenantes in eyþer side. God be þonked of al his nedes þis translacioun is I-ended in a þorsday þe eyȝtēþe day of Aueryle, þe ȝere of oure lord a þowsand þre hundred foure score and seuene, þe tenþe ȝere of kyng Richard þe secunde after þe conquest of Engelond, þe ȝere of my lordes age sire Thomas of Berkeley þat made me make þis translacioun fyue and thrytty. Deo gracias.'

Cowie[1] says of the *Dialogue* 'that it appears to be different from that in the printed edition'. He also has this note on the sermon:

'This is mentioned by Dibdin among the translations of John de Trevisa, "a translation of the Latin sermon of Radulf or Fitz-Rauf, Archbishop of Armagh, No. 3, 1357." Among the Harl. MSS. 1900. It is against the Mendicant Friars.

vide Dibdin, *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, p. 141.'

Br. Mus. MS. Additional 24194.[2]

This MS. was used in preparing the Rolls Series of Trevisa's *Polychronicon*. It is designated as δ in the collation notes. Mr. Babington uses it to correct the errors and supply the defects of Cambridge MS. H. 1.[3] It was formerly in the

[1] *Des. Cat. of MSS. and Scarce Books in St. John's College, Camb.*, pp. 75, 76.

[2] Descriptions are found in (*a*) Trevisa's translation of *Polychronicon*, ed. Babington and Lumby, in Rolls Series, vol, i, pp. lvi, lvii. (*b*) *Cat. of Add. to MSS. in Br. Mus., 1854–1875*, vol. ii, p. 19. (*c*) Paleographical Soc. ii. 171.

[3] Rolls Series, vol. i, p. lvi.

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possession of Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1715); and was bought by the British Museum July 1, 1861.[1]

It is vellum, consisting of 263 leaves, measuring 16½ × 11½ in., in double columns of 47 lines. It is usually assigned to the beginning of the fifteenth century. Mr. Babington thinks this and Camb. MS. are only a few years later than the date of Trevisa's translation (1387). To Mr. Bond this MS. seems slightly the older.[2] It is written in a clear hand, and beautifully ornamented with an illuminated border at the beginning of each book, and with initials in gold and colours.

The MS. appears to have been written for Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, whose arms are introduced into two of the ornamented borders, viz. pp. 1 and 33. Sir Frederic Madden says: 'The Earl of Warwick, for whom this MS. was executed, is Richard Beauchamp, who died in 1439, and who married Margaret, sole daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Berkeley,[3] for whom the translation was made by Trevisa.'[4]

Mr. Babington, in a note, vol. i, p. lviii, of *Polychronicon*, gives evidence as to this marriage as taken from MS. Life of the Berkeleys by Smyth. The contract of the marriage was entered into in September, 17 Richard II. The date of the marriage is not given, but it is stated that the marriage was intended to be solemnized 'as soon as conveniently may be', and that the bride was then under the age of 'seven yeares'. Her death took place on the 28th September, 1 Henry VI.

The description of contents as given in *Catalogue to Additions* is:

24194. English Translations of John of Trevisa, Vicar of

[1] On fol. 1a is written: 'Purchased at the sale of Archbishop Tenison's Manuscripts, 1st July, 1861.' It was listed in his library as MS. No. 1.

[2] Rolls Series, p. lviii. Mr. R. Flower, Superintendent in the MS. Department of the British Museum, writing to me June 21, 1915, thinks it earlier than 1439, for it contains the arms of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in that year. Supt. Wood of the British Museum is also of the same opinion.

[3] The writer in *Cat. of Add. to MSS. in Br. Mus.*, vol. ii, p. 19, has Thos. 10th Lord Berkeley. The writer in Pal. Soc. ii. 171 designates him as 5th Lord Berkeley.

[4] *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p, lvii. Same written on fol. i a unsigned.

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Berkeley, Gloucester, and Chaplain to Thos. 10th Lord of Berkeley, viz.:

1. 'Dialogus inter militem et clericum' on spiritual and temporal power (see the Latin tract in Royal 6 E. III, f. 130), f. 4.
2. 'Sermo domini archiepiscopi Armacani' (Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh) preached at Avignon in 1350,[1] against the begging friars. f. 8.
3. The *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden, preceded by an index and three prefaces. A whole quire containing Bk. III, c. xli, to Bk. IV, c. iv, is wanting after f. 139; and Bk. I, c. cci–iv, and part of chapter xiv to xxv of Bk. VI (f. 214) have been omitted. f. 21.

The initials E.W. are on a fly-leaf at the beginning; and at the end in green paint, R. P. At the end of the index, f. 35 b, occurs 'William Bradwell, Anno Domini, 1610'. At the end of the volume are found the following: 'John Knighton', f. 262; 'William Knighton', f. 262 b; 'Edward Coulson', f. 263 b; and on the last leaf, 'Emanuel, Anno Domini. 1570.'[2]

Trevisa's ending is as follows: 'Þis translacion is yended in a þorsday þe eyȝtēþe day of Aueryl, þe ȝere of oure lord a þowsand þre hondred foure score and seuene, þe tenþe ȝere of Kyng Richard þe secounde after þe conquest of England, þe ȝere of my lordes age sire Thomas Lorde of Berkeley þat made me þis translacioun fyue and þirtty.'

In answer to the query in regard to this MS. which appeared in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. v, p. 110, 'Is it known where this MS. is now preserved? If lost, as I fear, are there any known transcripts of it, and where?' the following answer signed by Bibliothecar Chetham appeared in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. v, No. 112, February 26, 1858, pp. 159–60:

'I was informed by the Rev. Philip Hale, ex-librarian of Abp. Tenison's Library, not many months since, that the

[1] Mr. Bond, who compiled the *Catalogue* in 1877, has wrong date. See discussion of place and date, p. ciii.

[2] Miss Greenwood speaks of this MS. as used by Babington and Lumby in their edition of Trevisa, and as containing the *Dialogue* and *Sermon*. Körting and Emerson speak of it only in connexion with *Polychronicon*.

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collection remains intact in the building formerly used as the reading room, 42 Castle Street, Leicester Square. Of the translation by John de Trevisa of the Latin sermon of Radulph, or Fitz-Rauf, Archbishop of Armagh, Nov. 8th, 1357, there are, I believe, several copies in various collections. Among the Harl. MSS. 1900; in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge (see Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Scarce Books in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, by the Rev. Morgan Cowie, Cambridge, 1843, 4to, p. 77); in the Chetham library, Manchester. This copy contains thirteen leaves, beginning "Demeþ noght by preface bote ryȝtful dom ye deme, Joh. viii. 5".

This learned tract against Mendicant Friars, which has escaped Bale and Pits, is noticed in Dibdin's *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, p. 141.'[1]

Br. Mus. MS. Stowe 65.

This MS. is not mentioned in the Rolls Series of Trevisa's *Polychronicon*; nor is it mentioned by Miss Greenwood, Körting, Morris and Skeat, or Emerson. It is fully described in the *Catalogue of Stowe MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. i, p. 42, 1895. It is a well-written manuscript. I have used it in my edition, designating it in the notes as S. It differs somewhat from the three previous MSS., and resembles the Chetham MS.

It is written on vellum, consisting of 222 folios. It is early fifteenth century, and written in double columns of 49 lines. The initials of the chapters are in red and blue. The several books begin with illuminated borders. On the last page is an acquittance to Edw. Clere (of Blickling, Sheriff of Norfolk in 1567) for rent of a tenement in 'Saynt Edmondes in Norwiche, in old tyme Sir Nicholas Goldwell', November 24, 1559.

The text of the *Polychronicon* differs from the MSS. used in the Rolls Series. The writer in the *Catalogue* lists a number of passages, which are supplied in a 'modern imitative hand', chiefly from Caxton's edition, including the false date 1357 (for 1387) at the end. The *Polychronicon* covers ff. 1–202. This is followed by:

(*a*) 'Dialogus inter clericum et militem'; a Dialogue on the spiritual and temporal power, beginning, 'Ich wondere, sore

[1] This was reprinted in *Bibl. Chet.*, vol. iv (1862), p. 433.

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noble Knizt', translated from the Latin of Wm. Occam. ff. 202–5 b.

(*b*) Sermo dni. Archiepiscopi Armacani (Richard Fitz-Ralph) factus Auinione 8° die mensis Nouembris, anno dni. 1358°; a sermon against the Mendicant orders, on John vii, 24, 'Demeþ noȝt by þe face.' ff. 205 b–217.

(*c*) 'Dialogus inter dominum et clericum': a dialogue in English on translation as an introduction to the *Polychronicon*, beginning: 'Seþþe þat Babel was buld.' ff. 217–18.

(*d*) Letter of Trevisa, on his translation of Higden, to his patron, Thomas Berkeley, 5th Baron Berkeley (ob. 1417), beginning, 'Thomas lord of Berkeleye, I John Trevisa, etc.' f. 218.

(*e*) Alphabetical table of contents of the *Polychronicon*, f. 218. The Latin index found in other MSS. is wanting here.

On a half-leaf between ff. 201 and 202, in a different hand, we find this closing: 'Thankynges and praysynges be to Almyghty God of all his dedes. This translation is ended on a Thursday the eyghtenth daye of Apryll. The yere of oure lorde a thousande thre hundred fyfty seuen. The one & thyrty yere of Kynge Edwarde the thyrde after the conqueste of Engelonde. The yere of my lordes aege Syre Thomas lorde of Barkley, that made me make this translacyon fyue & thyrty.'

Chetham's Library MS.

This manuscript is not mentioned by Babington and Lumby, nor by Miss Greenwood, Körting, Emerson, or Morris and Skeat. Boase and Courtney refer to it in their *Bibl. Cornubiensis*, vol. ii, p. 797 (1878). It is described in *Bibliotheca Chethamensis*, vol. iv, p. 433 (1862), as No. 11379.

The MS. is a folio, vellum, single column, 37 lines on a page. Size, $13\frac{4}{5} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; reading material, $91\frac{4}{5} \times 7\frac{3}{10}$. It is beautifully written, with illuminated capitals frequently interspersed.

Contents:

(1) ff. 1 a–5 b (ll. $30\frac{1}{2}$): Dialogus inter clericum et militem.
(2) ff. 5 b (l. 31 title)–18 b (37 lines): Sermo dni. Archiepi. Armacani.
(3) ff. 19 a–34 b ($\frac{1}{2}$ col.): Index to *Polychronicon* in two cols.

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(4) ff. 35 a-36 b ($\frac{1}{2}$ page): Prefaces, about $\frac{5}{8}$ of first preface wanting, f. 37 a blank.
(5) ff. 37 b–60 a (25 lines: First book of *Poly.* 60 caps. (caps. 19–31 omitted, also 33–43). Trevisa's notes occur cap. 10 near end, 13, 31 near end, 46, 58, and 53.
(6) ff. 60 a–74 b: Second book of *Poly.* 74 b ends cap. 17 abruptly; 75 a begins Bk. III, cap. 27. Notes by Trevisa caps. 1, 2, 4, 6, 10, 11.
(7) ff. 75 a–86 b: Third Book of *Poly.* caps. 27–35. Notes by Trevisa caps. 32, 33, 34, 35.
(8) ff. 87 a–108 b: Fourth Book of *Poly.* beg. at cap. 2. Notes by Trevisa cap. 2.
(9) ff. 109 a–125 b: Fifth Book of *Poly.*
(10) ff. 126 a–140 b: Sixth Book of *Poly.*
(11) ff. 141 a–178 b: Seventh Book of *Poly.*[1]

It will thus be seen that parts of the *Polychronicon* are wanting in this MS.

On folio 2 a is written:

'Polycronicon
wrytten in Latine by Ran. Higden Monk of St. Werburg's in Chester
translated into English
by
John de Trevisa.'

The first five leaves of the MS. contain 'Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum'. The next thirteen leaves contain a Discourse of the Archbishop of Armagh, entitled 'Incipit Sermo Dni. Archiepi. Armacani: Demeth nogt by Preface bote rygtful Dom ye deme. John 8, 5'.

Fol. 1 has been much damaged. The right side of fol. (a) is almost impossible to read. The lower right-hand corners of the first eight or nine folios are badly wrinkled and marred.

Br. Mus. MS. Additional 37049.

This is a copy of the *Methodius* tract on the 'Beginning and Ending of the World', in a Northern dialect. I have printed it in parallel columns with the same tract from MS. Harl. 1900.

[1] It closes Book VII near the beginning of chap. 44 with these words: 'her many men conspired for to help at his deliverance, but he died about the feast of . . .' (see *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, vol. viii, p. 325).

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In the *Catalogue of Additions*[1] it is numbered 37049, headed: 'The Desert of Religion & other poems and religious pieces, etc., mostly illustrated in Northern English.' The collection consists of 71 articles, ours being No. 4, and running from folio 11 to 16 b (20 lines). It is said to be a translation from the Latin version (Royal MS. 8 F. VIII, f. 170, and elsewhere) of the *Revelationes* of the pseudo-Methodius.

The MS. consists of ff. 1+96, single columns, $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8$ in. paper, except 1 and 2. First half of the fifteenth century. About one-third of each page is covered with crude coloured drawings, illustrating the text. The rest of the space is taken up with from 24 to 26 lines of writing, carelessly written and hard to decipher. Many of the pages are mutilated at bottom, especially articles 70 and 71.

Fol. 11 a has three drawings: (1) The Lord to Adam and Eve, (2) The Serpent beguiling Eve, (3) The Angel with the Sword, and 25 lines of writing.

Fol. 11 b has two pictures: (1) The Flood, (2) The Ark, and 26 lines.

On f. 12 a we find pictures of Noah and the Altar, and the Tower of Babel, with 26 lines of writing. On every page we find one or two pictures, covering about the same space. There is writing explaining each of these drawings, sometimes written over the top, often through the picture, sometimes at the right or left.

Burleigh House MS.

This is a valuable MS., as it contains the three works in the present edition. It is especially important, as it is the only MS. of the five used, besides the Harleian, that contains the *Methodius* tract in Southern English. Thus it is greatly to be regretted that it could not be found for use in this edition.[2]

[1] *Cat. of Add. to MSS. in the Br. Mus.* (1900–1905), pp. 324–32.

[2] A serious effort was made by myself, assisted by Mr. J. Munro, then Assistant-Secretary of the E.E.T.S., to obtain a copy of this MS. The Marquis of Exeter, through his Secretary, Sir Leslie Falkiner, Bart., was most kind in searching his library, but after several efforts, in a letter under date of July 19, 1914, he writes 'that there was no

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A full and complete description of the MS. is given by Alfred J. Horwood, in the *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts, 1877.* In Part I, p. xi, he says:

'The Marquis of Exeter's library contains a fine copy, on vellum, of Trevisa's translation into English of Higden's Polychronicon; and in the same volume are translations by Trevisa of other works, including Archbishop Turpin's romance chronicle of Charlemagne and his Peers at Roncevalles. This volume was probably the property of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, for his hand writing is seen on the margin of one of the leaves.'

In the appendix (p. 234) to the same report, just before the description, Mr. Horwood says:

'The MSS. of the Most Honourable, the Marquis of Exeter, at Burghley House, Stamford. One of the MSS. at Burghley house bears marks of having been consulted by Lord Treas. Burghley; it is a very fine copy of Trevisa's translation into English of Higden's Polychronicon, accompanied by Trevisa's translation of other works, and by a translation into English of Archbishop Turpin's legendary chronicle of Charlemagne and his peers.'

Miss Greenwood speaks of it as containing the *Dialogue between Dominus and Clericus*, the *Epistle to Lord Berkeley*, the *Methodius* tract, the *Sermon*, and *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*. She makes a mistake, however, in placing the last three with Bartholomaeus at Burleigh House. According to Mr. Horwood's report this MS. contains the *Polychronicon*, together with those just mentioned. It seems, therefore, to have the same contents as MS. Harl. 1900.

The following is part of the description as given in Mr. Horwood's report:

'Large folio, vellum C 1420 (and later) in two columns.

I. Dialogus inter militem et clericum. Clericus. Y wonder

trace of the MS. anywhere, neither in the Library Catalogue or elsewhere, and that there seems to be no trace of it as far back as 1845.' Miss Alice Greenwood, who refers to the MS. in her article in *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, writes me July 29, 1914, 'that she did not verify it as being at Burleigh House, at the time of her writing in 1908. The correspondence with librarians was done by officials of the Cambridge University Press.' It was not used by Babington and Lumby in their Rolls Series edition.

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sir noble Knyȝt þat in fiue daies tymes be changid, riȝt is y-buried, lawes biþ ouertorned and statutes biþ y-trode under feet. Ends on folio 5 b. (This is a translation into English of Ockham's tract under the same title. An English translation was printed by Berthelet (temp. Hen. VIII.)

II. Folio 5 b. Incipit sermo domini archiepiscopi Armacani. Begins: Demiþ nought ye face, but riȝtful dome ye deme. John 8o, 1o. Holy fadyr, in the begynynge of my sermon I make a protestation. Ends (20 b): as I prayed in þe first þat I touched, demith nouȝt bi þe face, etc. (This is a translation of the 'Defensio curatorum contra eos qui se privilegiatos dicunt', composed by Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1357. The Latin version, with Roger Conway's counterblast, was printed by John Trechsel in 1496.)

III. The book of Methodie the bishop of the church of Paterene and martir of (sic) Crist, which he charged to translate of hebrue and greek speche in to Latyn, þat is of ye beginyng of ye worlde wich ye noble man Seint Jerom in his workes praysed. Begins: For whi hit is to wite. Ends in the first column of 23 b.

IV. Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*. First comes a table (in 16 leaves) to the Chronicle. Next is the dialogue between a Clerk and a Lord (i. e. Trevisa and Lord Berkeley) beginning: Siþþe þat Babel was y-buld men spekiþ diuerse tonges. (This is printed at the beginning of Caxton's edition.) Then comes Trevisa's epistle to Lord Berkeley, beginning: Welþe and worship to my worthy and worshipful Lord, Sir Thomas lord of Berkley, I John Treuysa etc.

The text of the *Polychronicon* begins: 'after solempne and wise writers of art'. Ends: 'and soon þer after were messengers sent to Auenion to the Pope to conferme ye pees and the couenants in eiþer side. God be thanked of all his dedis þis translacion is ended on a þursday ye 18th day of Aueril, ye yere of our Lord 1347' (adding that Sir Thomas Lord of Berkeley was then aged 35).[1]

The last date in the text is 1347, and very little space is occupied with the events between the date of the last sentence which refers to the confirmation of the Treaty of Bretigny made in 1360.'

The report closes with Horwood's acknowledgements to the Marquis of Exeter for the hospitality at Burleigh House.

[1] Compare this date with other endings, and discussion of closing date, pp. lxxvii ff.

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Relation of the Five Middle-English Manuscripts.

Orthographically the MSS. group themselves thus: (1) H, (2) A C, (3) S Ch, as is shown by the following forms:

	H	A C	S	Ch
Dial.				
2/12	haueþ	haþ		habbeþ
6/26	dide	dede		dude
7/3	seyȝ	seigh		syȝ
14/16	sey	seie		sygge
16/13	dewe (*vb.* do)	þow	þew	þuwe
18/1	seyn	seieþ	seggeþ	syggeþ
21/6	due (*adj.*)	dewe		þew
25/13	biggeþ	beggeþ		buggeþ
26/8	myrþe	merþe		murþe
Sermon.				
38/9	her	hire		here
50/20	dar	durre	þere	þurre
51/8	here (*adverb*)	hire	huyre	heyre
52/5	sueþ	seweþ	seweþ	syweþ
52/7	ony	any		eny
54/2	ferþe	fourþe	ferþe	veurþe
57/9	hereþ	hireþ		huyreþ
60/11	fleece	flees		vluys
62/2	due	dewe		þewe
73/11	gossippes	gossibbes		godsybbes
78/20	dide	dede		dude
79/21	þouȝ	þei		þeyȝ
80/6	,,	,,		,,
80/12	,,	,,		,,

In many cases H resembles A C, thus making two groups in spelling.

Dial.	H	A C	S	Ch
3/12		he		a
6/4		from	fro	vram
6/17		ȝede	ȝuede	ȝude
7/7		þei	hey	hy
10/12	(many times)	haueþ		habbeþ
16/6		rule		reule
21/7		lese		leuse
21/7		fee		feo
22/13		here		huyre
27/5		siluer		seluer
32/9		chirche		cherche
32/14		dewe (due)		þewe

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Sermon.	H	A C	S	Ch
48/4		herde		y-hurd
51/1		dewe (due)		þewe
52/13		leseþ		lueseþ
56/12		þider		þuder
56/22		þei		þay
58/26		lese		luese (leuse Ch)
67/22		nynþe		nyþe
74/30		þilke		þulke
76/14		þese		þues
88/8		stalworþe		stalword
88/30		wrouȝt		wroȝte
93/3		feiþ		fey
93/3		truþe	trewþe	treuthe
93/8		seuenthe		seueþe.

In a few cases H S Ch agree: H S Ch write 'axeþ', A C 'askeþ', H S Ch 'turne', A C 'torne'.

S and Ch almost invariably have 'a', where the other MSS. have 'þei'. They also write 'a' for 'he'. In the 3rd pers. pron., when S and Ch do not write 'a' for 'þei', S has 'hey', Ch 'hy'. In *Sermon* 47/2 the following occurs:

H	S	Ch	A	C
þei	a	a	þei	he
þei	hey	þei	þei	hy

This irregularity, however, is not usual. Rarely does A use 'a' for 'þei'.

The following readings group the manuscripts thus:

Dial.	H S Ch	A C
6/14	cupes	cupes ful
20/5	forfadres	forme fadres
24/7	myldliche	mekeliche
35/5	wityng	writinge
Sermon.		
42/29	þerby	þei be
43/17	þat	þat þat
56/8	come	þere come
62/10	reulere	reguler
71/10	but a nouys	hote noon
71/28	folly (fully, volly)	cristene
82/13	half (hal Ch)	al
85/13	lowe (Lat. *humilis*)	lewede (also S)
87/8	strenger (L. *fortiora*)	certeyn
89/23	a	on

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Group A C

Although S is nearer the original Latin, as will be shown later, I shall first discuss the group A C. The scribe of C is most careless. His mistakes are (1) omissions of lines, usually one or two, but in *Sermon*, p. 48, ll. 29–35, eight lines, and p. 61, ll. 22–7, six lines; (2) words different from the other MSS.; (3) an occasional repetition of a line or part of a line; (4) wrong translations.

(1) The omissions:

These are very numerous, and mostly visual errors. The eye has in nearly every case dropped from one word to a like word in a lower line. These errors appear very frequently, not only in the *Dialogue* and *Sermon*, but also in *Polychronicon*. A close examination shows that in the great majority of omissions the words which caused the omission are directly under each other in A. This points to A as the direct origin of C. There are facts, however, as will appear later, that make this impossible.

Some of the C omissions are:

Dial.

9/6 temporalte—temporalte, one line.
11/8 deme—deme, one line.
11/9 vn rightful—vn rightful, mid. of lines 1 and 3 in A.
25/5 pees—pees.
28/8 places—places (in same place in A).
28/10 ezechias—ezechias (under each other in A).
32/10 seruise—seruise ('seruise', lines 1 and 4, in A exactly under).

Sermon.

45/14 dedes—dedes (in A 'dedes' first word in 1 and 4).
48/29 parische—parische (in A 'parische' middle of lines 1 and 9).
49/23 heste—heste (in A 'heste' middle of lines 1 and 4).
52/20 persone—persone (in A 'persone' exactly under 1 and 5).
61/22 heeste—heeste (in A 'heeste' middle of lines 1 and 7).

Then certain passages are omitted by A and C, which would seem as though C were direct from A. These are, however, not numerous. *Dial.* 9/3 Kyngdom—Kyngdom, *Dial.* 31/4 'for þe & for me', instead of 'for me & for þe' in other MSS.;

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Sermon 62/5 'þe same' in A C, but not in Latin or other MSS.

(2) C's words different from other MSS. in the *Dialogue*: 9/13 'alwey', Lat. and MSS. = 'awey', 10/12 'whan', MSS. = 'whom', 14/1 'causes' for 'cases', 23/7 'begile not'. This is correct form in Lat. and Pr., other MSS. omit 'not'.

Instances in the *Sermon* are:

	H S Ch A	C
39/17	þere nyne	þer ynne (wrong)
45/5	such (Lat. *tales*)	seche (*verb*)
60/20	wiþ hem (Lat. *secum*)	awey
60/30	þei	þat
62/12	do	vse
63/18	by	but
68/18	kepe	keke
72/7	fre	þe
72/9	be dewe	be dede
76/19	þefþe	þe fecte
77/7	euel getyng	mater
79/14	worschip	pouert
80/24	þreuyng	reprefynge
87/18	,,	prechynge
88/12	catel	trauaille
88/29	folewe	knowe
89/18	slowe (Lat. *pigrum*)	soule

Some of the differences are evidently scribal errors, but they point to an independent source for C.

(3) Repetitions in C:

Sermon 41/20 after 'þee', repeated 'þat þow sixte wiþ þyn eyȝe'. The eye of the writer glanced above and brought the line down.

Sermon 53/31 after 'pryuyleges' 'schulde voide many damage'. This is repeated from above. 54/17 after 'hym', written, 'in token of his lordschippe'. In this passage the eye dropped two lines, and thus the phrase was repeated.

Further proof that C did not copy from A is found in the fact that a few passages and words are omitted in A, but occur in C.

Sermon 63/19 about two lines. Also 74/13, 84/1, 87/20. Further, referring to Ch *Polychronicon*, several chapters are absent from A (see description of Additional 24194, p. xxi). Thus it would seem that A and C are independent copies of some original.

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GROUP H S Ch

In this group S Ch fall together, not only in orthography but by certain readings:

Dial.	H	S Ch
2/12	þei	hey or hy
2/12	haueþ	habbeþ
5/9	feiþ	fey
6/1	herde	y-hurd
6/22	þanne	þo
10/7	bade	heet
16/13	dewe(*vb.*)	þewe (þuwe)
19/10	stireþ	stureþ
21/6	due (*adj.*)	þew
25/7	comyneþ	comuneþ (comneþ Ch)

Sermon	H	S Ch
41/20	wiþ ynne þee	wiþ þyn eyȝe
43/8	his	þis (Lat. *hoc*)
17/23	þese	in þis
50/20	dar	þurre (þere Ch)
57/12	mawmetrie	mametrie
60/11	fleece	vluys
63/11	seeþ (Lat. *viderit*)	seweþ (suweþ Ch)
63/12	lecherie	spusebreche
73/11	gossippes	godsybbes
79/8	þis	þese
84/27	bade	hete
87/8	til (Lat. *donec*)	forto
90/25	þat	þan (Lat. *quam*)
91/27	kitt	kutte

S is a comparatively late MS., perhaps twenty or thirty years later than H. Many passages are omitted in the *Polychronicon*. These are filled in by a later hand. Therefore H could not be derived from S. Ch omits fols. 6 a–8 a (pp. 39–47) of the *Sermon*. Ch cannot then be the source of H.

As has been shown, H is related to A C in orthography. On the other hand, it is related to S Ch by certain readings. And yet H has a few distinct readings which seem to point to an independent manuscript as its source. Examples: *Dial.* 10/7 H 'bade', all other MSS. read 'heet'; *Dial.* 29/5 H 'aȝensaye', others 'wiþseie'.

Sermon 41/20 H 'wiþ ynne þee'. A C S Ch read this correctly 'wiþ þyn eyȝe'. 42/29 'þer by' H S, Lat. 'ac þer hoc', A C is wrong having 'þei be'. 46/7 and 8 H has misinterpreted, left out 'þat', and begun a new sentence with 'ȝif þei', A C and S have

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corrected this. 46/29 Lat. 'imponendam', H 'enioye', A C S 'enioyne'. This looks like a mere scribal error on the part of H. 59/1 Lat. 'aliud', H 'more', other MSS. 'anoþer'; 63/11 Lat. 'viderit', H 'seeþ', other MSS. 'seweþ'; 79/8 Lat. 'iste', A 'þis', other MSS. 'þese'; 87/8 Lat. 'donec', H 'til', other MSS. 'forto'; 88/23 Lat. 'verbo nostro', H 'lord', MSS. 'word'; 90/25 Lat. 'quam', H 'þat', MSS. correct 'þan'.

H is probably the oldest of the five manuscripts. The scribe has been careless in a few places. None of the omissions is very significant. They are *Dial.* 8/6, 11/6, 34/1; *Sermon* 41/32, 60/10, 63/31, 90/4. The passages omitted thus in H are found in the other MSS. Inasmuch as S has these omitted passages, H cannot be the source of S. Furthermore S is quite independent of H, because it contains many passages, identical with the original Latin, which are not met with in H, or any of the other MSS. This places S nearer the original MS., and in it we have the purest form of the *Dialogue* and the *Sermon.* And yet it is a late MS., and has many long passages omitted in the *Polychronicon,* which are supplied by a later hand.

In the *Dialogue* the following passages occur only in S, which agree with the Latin, and the printed edition:

5/4 'not' in 'may not be wiþseid'; 8/3 a passage after 'temperalte'; 35/8 a passage after 'nede'; 25/12 S wrongly writes 'sueþ', when all the other MSS. Lat. and Pr. write 'seeþ'.

Examples in *Sermon*:

39/19 S 'to þis holy court', Lat. 'sanctus', other MSS. omit 'holy'.

41/32 S has 'place', omitted in others, Lat. 'locus',

55/10 After 'falliþ to' a passage in S and Lat. not found in other MSS.

57/14 'to þe riȝtful manes offiȝs it longeþ'. 'it longeþ', Lat. 'pertinet', only in S.

57/32 After 'schryue' a passage in Lat. and S.

59/1 'þe lore of', only in S, Lat. 'doctrinae'.

63/3 S 'symonye', other MSS 'money', Lat. 'pecunia'.

64/1 after 'gospel', two lines found in S, but om. in other MSS.

65/24 S 'noon', other MSS. newe, Lat. 'cum sit nulla'.

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68/10 S 'þei were noȝt', other MSS. 'þei were', Lat. 'non fuerant'.

73/17 S only correct 'þat y wolde noȝt þenke of a mayde', Lat. 'ne cogitarem de virgine'.

79/19 S 'ynow for me', others 'ynow', Lat. 'mihi sufficiant'.

That S is not the original of the other four manuscripts is shown from a number of omissions, which are found in the MSS., and in the original Latin:

Dial.:

12/12 after 'demynge'.

Sermon:

51/11 'ech ȝere' for 'al þe ȝere', Lat. 'per totum annum'.

57/26 om. of 'þe beste' in 'þe beste beestes', Lat. 'pinguiora'.

The above evidence seems to point to a group S Ch, standing nearest to the original. They are probably from the same copy. H is from a different MS., and further from the original than the S Ch group. The MSS. A C form a third group further removed from the original copy than the other two groups.

B. Latin Manuscripts

John Trevisa was a noted translator of the fourteenth century. His literary work is an effort to render into simple English some of the outstanding scientific, historical, and religious material of his time. In his epistle to Lord Thomas of Berkeley on the translation of the *Polychronicon*, he says:

'For travell will I not spare comfort I have in medefull makeing and plesinge to God, and in knowing that I wote that it is your will: for to make this translation clere and plaine, to be known and understandyn. In some place I shall set word for word and actiffe for actiffe and passife for passife arowe right as it standeth without changinge the ordre of words. But in some places I must change the order of words and set actiffe for passife and aȝen word. And in some places I must set a reason for a word, and tell what it meaneth; But for all such changing the meaning shall stand and not be changed.'[1]

The material that he used was ready at hand, found in many

[1] Taken from *Epistle* as printed by Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i, p. 348.

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Latin MSS. The chief of these MSS. are here listed, most of which were examined and compared with the English.

Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum.

(1) **Br. Museum MS. Cotton Nero D. VIII.**[1]
Codex Membrane, in folio, contains 347 ff., double columns, 41 lines. No. 10, 'Disputatio inter clericum et militem super potestate commissa praelatis, ecclesiasticis, atque principibus terrarum.' ff. 183 a (col. 1) $\frac{1}{3}$–196 a (col. 2) 14 lines. Written in a large hand, with no ornamentation.

(2) **Br. Mus. MS. Reg. 6 E. III.**[2]
Vellum, 16 × 11 in. 56 articles, ff. 292. The *Dial.* is article No. 41, ff. 130–2 b (col. 2). 56 lines in a column, written very plainly. No ornamentation or colouring.

(3) **St. John's College, Camb., No. 160 (F. 23).**[3]
Vellum, $9\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. ff. 187. Mostly 29 lines to a page. Cent. XV. An ugly hand. Contents, i. Will Occham. Disputatio inter clericum et militem, ff. 1 b–6 a.

(4) **St. John's College, Camb., No 115 (E. 12).**[4]
Vellum, $8 \times 4\frac{5}{6}$ in. ff. 160 + 2. 37, 35 &c. lines to a page. Cent. XIV and XV. Well written, but filled with contractions. Contents, No. 4 (Ockam). Disputatio inter clericum et militem, etc. ff. 87 b–95 a.

(5) **Corpus Christi College, Camb., No. 156 (p. 21).**[5]
Paper and vellum, $11\frac{4}{5} \times 8\frac{1}{5}$ in. ff. 74 + 13 + 115 + 99 + 21. Cent. XV and XVI. Several vols. in various hands. Contents, iii, 22. ff. 110–15. Disputatio inter clericum etc.

(6) **Br. Mus. MS. Additional 33243.**[6]
Liber dyalogorum (Willelmi) Okam. Vellum, ff. 283. Single col. 45 lines. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. Index at first: Dialogues between Magister and Discipulis, entitled 'Dialogi Okami de

[1] *Catalogue of MSS. in Cottonian Library*, 1802, p. 238.

[2] Casley, David, *Catalogue of MSS. in King's Library*, 1734, pp. 114 and 115.

[3] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Library of St. John's College, Camb.*, 1913, p. 191.

[4] James's *Catalogue*, p. 149.

[5] M. R. James, *Cat. of MSS. in Corpus Christi College, Camb.*, vol. ii, 1912, p. 351.

[6] *Cat. of Additions to MSS. in Br. Mus. from 1882–1887.*

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Jurisdictione et potestate Ecclezie.' Our dialogue not found in this list.

FitzRalph's Sermon, Defensio Curatorum.

(1) **MS. at Peterhouse Library, Camb. (No. 223.)**[1]
Vellum, $11 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. ff. 286. 45 lines to a page. 15th cent. Contents (2): Propositio Ricardi Ardmachani Archiep.—facta in consistorio coram D. papa et cardinalibus, etc., 8 Nov. 1357. Begins: 'Nolite iudicare secundum faciem.' ff. 43 b (l. 6)–55 a (l. 5).

(2) **MS. at Sidney Sussex College Library (64 Δ 4. 2).**[2]
Paper, $11\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ in. ff. 132. 49 and 32 lines to a page. 15th cent. Not so well written as No. 1, but in a larger hand Contents (13): Proposicio d. Armachani facta in consis torio—apud Auinonem, 8 Nov. 1357. ff. 72–87 a.

(3) **Bodley MS. No. 144, A. 5.**
Parchment, $10\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in. iv + 280 leaves. Several hands of 15th cent. Begins f. 255, one line from bottom. In this MS. there are no less than 88 sermons[3] delivered in various parts of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Avignon. It ends f. 271, line 23. Down to f. 266, line $13\frac{1}{2}$, written in a rather small, but plain hand. Balance in a larger hand. Much easier MS. to read than either Bodley 158 or 865.

(4) **Bodley MS. No. 158, B. 3.**
Parchment, $10\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. 1 + 224 leaves. Four separate MSS. written early in 15th cent. Contents: No. 9. Richardi Ar—. Propositio coram Papa ad Avineonem 8 Novembris 1357, super materia Mendicitatis ac Privilegiorum contra Frates. ff. 153 a–165 a (35 lines).

(5) **Bodley MS. 865.**
$10\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ in. ii + 115 leaves. In Latin and Old English. Three MSS. written in 11th to 15th centuries. The sermon consists of ff. 26 b–55 a (20, 1), 29 and 30 lines to

[1] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Peterhouse Library, Camb.*, 1899, p. 276.

[2] M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Sidney Sussex Coll. Lib., Camb.*, 1895, p. 46.

[3] R. L. Poole, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. xix, p. 195. (MS. 144 contains 88 sermons in full or in reports.)

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a page. 'Proposicio—facta in consistorio coram . . . Nov. 8th, 1357, the treatise usually known as the Defensorium Curatorum, often printed.'

(6) **Corpus Christi MS. Oxford, No. CLXXXII.**[1]
$13 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ in., 2 cols., 51 lines. Cod. Memb., fol. ff. 82. Date beg. of 13th and 15th centuries. Art. 3: Ricardi filii Radulphi, Archiep. Cantaur. sermo habitus Avinoniae VIII die mensis Novemb. A. D. 1357. Inc. istud: 'Nolite judicare secundum faciem,' etc. contra fratres. fols. 53 a (col. 1)–66 b (col. 2) 22 lines.

(7) **Magdalen College MS. Oxford, No. XXXVIII.**[2]
$8\frac{1}{3} \times 7$ in. 2 cols., 53 lines. Cod. Memb. small fol. ff. 70. Cent. XV beg. No. 19: Ricardi Radulphi Armachani, propositio facta—die mensis Novemb., Anno Domini MCCCLVII. ff. 53 b (col. 1) line 27–68 a.

(8) **Reg. MS. Oxford, No. CCCLXXX.**[3]
Chartaceus, in 4to, ff. 74. Time 17th cent. Six articles. No. 4: Ex Ricardi, Archiep. Armachani, Defensione curatorum. ff. 34–9.[4]

Methodius, The Beginning and the End of the World.

I. The British Museum MSS.

(1) **Royal MS. 8 F. VIII.**[5]
$10\frac{3}{4} \times 7$ in. ff. 176. Contains seven articles. No. 7, Methodii Eubulii, Tyri Episcopi, Revelationes, ff. 170 a (col. 1)–172 a (col. 2). This is supposed to be the Latin MS. from which the Northern English MS. Addit. 37049 is taken. From beginning of fol. 170 a (col. 2)–fol. 172 a (col. 2) half of column corresponds very closely with the English versions. The article then continues to 176 a (col. 1) one-third of column, where it stops abruptly. The latter part has to do with Antichrist, and is found in the medieval printed books of the *Revelationes*, and also in

[1] H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxon. adservantur*, Pars ii, 1852, p. 72.

[2] H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Cod. MSS. Coll. Magdalenae*, p. 22.

[3] H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Cod. MSS. Coll. Reginensis*, p. 88.

[4] This is evidently an extract only. I failed to examine this MS.

[5] D. Casley, *Cat. of MSS. in King's Library*, 1734, p. 159.

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the Greek and Latin version of *Revelationes* as printed by Grynaeus, in *Monumenta Orthodoxographa*, Greek, pp. 93–9, Latin, pp. 100–13.

(2) **MS. Additional 34018.**[1]

Vellum, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ in. ff. 99. 13th cent. Written very fine in double cols. 58 lines. Very many abbreviations. Our article No. 5 of the seven, headed 'S. Methodii Episcopi Patarensis liber de principio saeculi'. 946–96.

(3) **Arundel MS. 326.**[2]

Vellum. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. Single columns. 34–38 lines to a page. Early 14th cent. Small quarto, ff. 60. Meth. *Revelationes*, ff. 57–60 b (28 lines.)

(4) **Sloane MS. 289.**[3]

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Single columns, 32 lines. Contains ten articles, Methodius being No. 9. Fols. 94–102. New numbering, ff. 85–88 a (21). The text is practically the same as the three first mentioned.

II. University of Cambridge Libraries.

(*a*) **Camb. Univ. Lib.**

(1) **No. 869 (Dd. XV. 15).**[4]

$4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ in. Single columns, 23 lines. 15th cent., 24 mo. 218 leaves. Written very small with many contractions. Meth. 'The beg. & End. of time', No. 2, ff. 153–61.

(2) **No. 1164 (Ff. I. 31).**[5]

13th cent. 181 leaves. Meth. 1 a–6 b. A parchment book in folio. Very plainly written.

(3) **No. 1514 (Gg. IV. 15).**[6]

Parchment, 11×7 in. 12th cent. Folio, ff. 111. 'Liber Methodii Martiris et Episcopi Ecclesie Paterensis, etc.,' article No. 2, ff. 108–11.

[1] *Cat. of Additions to British Museum for 1888–1893*, pp. 163–4.

[2] H. L. D. Ward, *Cat. of Romances in Dept. of MSS. Br. Mus.*, i (1883), p. 246; H. Suchier, *Denkmäler Prov. Lit.* (1883), p. 166.

[3] H. L. D. Ward, *Cat. of Romances*, vol. i, p. 250; H. Suchier, *Denkmäler Prov. Lit.* (1883), p. 166.

[4] *Cat. of MSS. in Camb. Univ. Library*, vol. i, p. 541.

[5] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 332.

[6] Ibid., vol. iii, p. 160.

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(4) **No. 1524 (Gg. IV. 25).**[1]

$10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. Single column, 34 lines. Quarto, on paper (excepting 13–17, which are on parchment). Written in various hands. 15th cent. No. 7, 'Liber Methodi Martiris', ff. 58–61 a. Many proper names underlined in red. Well written and easy to read. This and Ff. I. 31 are the two best copies in the Library.

(5) **No 2019 (Kk. IV. 4).**[2]

$14\frac{4}{5} \times 11$ in. A tall thin quarto on paper (excepting f. 64 and the fly-leaves, which are on parchment). ff. 76, double columns of 53 lines. 15th cent. No. 14, ff. 75 a–76 b, 'Liber Metodii Martiri de Primo Miliario Secule'. Begins in the usual way: 'Sciendum nobis namque est fratres,' etc. In a note is added: 'This is Methodius Patarorum Episcopus, who flourished in 290. See Oudin, i. 299. This tract does not appear in the collection of his works.'

These five MSS. resemble each other very closely, and also the English version in Harl. 1900.

(*b*) **St. John's College Library, Cambridge.**[3]

(1) **No. 184 (G. 16).**

Vellum, $8\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. ff. 322 + 5, double cols. of 41 lines. 14th cent. Contents, No. 10: Inc. liber Methodii ep. de Principio Seculi, etc. ff. 304–6 a, five lines from end. Contents, No. 11: De Antichristo, ff. 305 b–308. A note states this was printed in *Orthodoxographia*, etc., Sackur (*Sibyllinische Texte*, Halle, 1898). This copy is the same as English in MS. Harl. 1900.

(*c*) **Peterhouse Library, Camb.**[4]

(1) **No. 45 (O. 4. 6).**

Vellum, $15\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ in. ff. 391, double columns of 60 lines.

[1] *Cat. of MSS.*, vol. iii, p. 69.
[2] Ibid., vol. iii, p. 641.
[3] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Cat. of MSS. in St. John's Coll.*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1913, p. 217.
[4] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Cat. of MSS. in Peterhouse Lib.*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1899, p. 66.

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Early 13th cent. Contents, No. 2: 'In nomine Christi inc. liber Metodii', f. 383 a (col. 2)–383 b (col. 2). Very closely written, with pale ink, hard to read.

(*d*) **Trinity College, Camb.**

(1) **No. 943 (R. 15, 21, 165).**[1]
Vellum, 10 × 7 in. ff. 6 + 31 + 82, double columns of 41 lines. 15th cent. (1408). c. 98 is from the pseudo-Methodius 'de initio et fine seculi'; c. 99, On the Ages of the World.

(2) **No. 1122 (O. 2. 18).**[2]
Vellum, $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. ff. 186, 44 lines to a page. 14th and 15th cent. Contents, on f. 4 (13) b, on the fly-leaves, is the end of the prophecy of Methodius (XV), No. 22, in a later hand. The beginning of the Methodius prophecy of which the end is on the fly-leaves, ff. 151 b–153: De creacione celi et terre et de primo miliario breviter ostendit. Sciendum namque est nobis.

(3) **No. 1228 (O. 3. 51).**[3]
This is in Greek, paper, $9\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. ff. 16 + 266 + 69. 15th and 16th cent. Contents, No. 10, ff. 28–42.

(*e*) **Corpus Christi College, Camb.**[4]

(1) **No. 59 (D. 11).**
(2) **No. 66 (D. 12)**, ff. 235 b–238. Cent. XII & XIII, art. 26.
(3) **No. 275 (A. 4)**, ff. 18–22. Cent. XV & XIII, art. 6.
(4) **No. 288 (O. 11)**, ff. 98 b–101 b. Cent. XIV, art. 6.
(5) **No. 404 (G. 5)**, ff. 4–7. Cent. XIV, art. 2.
A note by James tells us that these were printed in *Orthodoxographa*, and by Sackur in *Sibyllinische Text*, Halle, 1898.

[1] M. R. James, *Cat. of Western MSS. in Trin. Coll.*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1900-1904. 4 vols. Vol. ii, p. 358.
[2] James, vol. iii, p. 106.
[3] James, vol. iii, p. 286.
[4] M. R. James, *Cat. of MSS. in Corpus Christi Coll., Camb.*, 2 vols., 1907-1908.

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III. Oxford University Libraries.

(*a*) **St. John's College.**[1]

(1) **No. CXXVIII.**

$9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Single columns, 31 lines. Cod. Memb. Small folio, ff. 237. 11th cent. beg. Ten articles. Ours is No. 9, occupying ff. 217 b–223. Incip. 'Sciendum namque est nobis', etc. An excellent copy, although belonging to 11th cent.

(2) **No. CXXXV.**

Cod. Memb. 4to, ff. 57. 15th cent. Ours is the second of two articles in the MS. S. Methodii, episcopi Paterensis, et Martyris, 'de initio seculi et fine, de creatione caeli et terrae'. fol. 48 b.

(3) **No. CLXXXII.**

$7\frac{3}{10} \times 5$ in. Single columns, 20 lines. Memb. 4to, ff. 148. 15th cent. Ten articles. Ours is No. 9, ff. 126 b (line 6)–136 a (line 13). This copy contains more than the others. A different copy with added material.

(*b*) **Corpus Christi College.**[2]

No. CCCXXX.

$8\frac{3}{10} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in., 2 columns, 27 lines. Cod. Chart. and Memb. ff. 163. 17th and 15th cents. Art. 3, Liber Methodii, ff. 159 a (col. 1, line 22)–163 b (col. 1, line 15). Written large and very readable. In a note 'cf. opera in Bibl., ed. Galland, tom. iii, p. 798'.

(*c*) **Trinity College.**[3]

No. III.

$6\frac{7}{10} \times 4\frac{7}{10}$ in. Single columns, 25 lines. Cod. Memb. Small 4to. ff. 305. 15th cent. Contains four articles. No. 2, Methodii, etc., ff. 246 b–53 a ($11\frac{1}{2}$ lines). Few contractions, beautifully written.

[1] H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Codicum MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. adservantur*, 1852. 2 pars. (1) p. 39; (2) p. 41; (3) p. 61.

[2] H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue, etc.*, p. 174.

[3] H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue*, p. 1.

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(*d*) **Lincoln College.**[1]

No. E. XXVIII.

$8 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. Double cols., very narrow, 24 lines. Cod. Memb. in small 4to. ff. 108. 15th cent. Contains fourteen articles. No. 6, Methodii Patarensis libellus, etc., ff. 43 b (col. 2, line 14)–51 b (col. 2, line 7). A very readable MS.

(*e*) **Magdalen College.**[2]

No. LIII.

$9\frac{4}{5} \times 6$ in. 48 lines on a page. Cod. Memb. 4to. ff. 165. 12th, 13th, and 14th cents. Contains thirty-one articles. No. 15, Liber Methodii, episcopi Patarensis, etc., pp. 207–11 ($28\frac{1}{2}$ lines).

(*f*) **Merton College.**[3]

No. XIII.

Cod. Memb. Folio. ff. 239, double cols. 14th and 15th cents. Contains fifty-seven articles. Art. 13, Liber et historia 'Metodii', episcopi, etc., ff. 53 b (col. 1, last three lines)–55 a (col. 1, line 26).

(*g*) **University College.**[4]

No. E. XCIX.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ in. Single col., 34 lines. Cod. Chart. 4to. ff. 170. 15th cent. Contains nine articles. No. 5, Methodii, episcopi Patarensis, etc., pp. 238 b (line 3)–250 b (line 15).

(*h*) **Bodleian Library.**

The following are excellent copies. I give them as they appear in the 1697 Catalogue of MSS.

(1) **MS. 722**, Art. 3. Now numbered **Laud Gr. 27.**
This is one of the best Greek MSS. Size, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ in. fols. 8–23.

[1] H. O. Coxe. *Catalogue*, p. 27. (Now deposited in Bodley.)
[2] H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue*, p. 32.
[3] H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue*, p. 8.
[4] H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue*, p. 30. (Now in Bodley.)

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(2) **MS. 1021** in Cat. of 1697. Now **Laud Misc. 270**, Art. No. 2.

(3) **MS. 2016** in Cat. of 1697. Now **Bodl. 163.** Described in 1912 Cat., p. 164. Lat. parchment, two MSS. written late in 11th and 12th cents.

(4) **MS. 2746** in Cat. of 1697, p. 147. Now **Bodl. 867.** New Cat., p. 525. Lat. parchment, early 15th cent., in several hands. Begins f. 299 a at line 13, ends f. 301 at 34th line. On examination this was found to be identical with Harl. 1900.

(5) **MS. 3650** in Cat. of 1697, p. 175. Now **62 Musaeo** (unprinted New Cat.), f. 135 b (col. 1, 2 lines)–f. 137 b. Like Engl. Harl. 1900. Not finished.

(6) **MS. 10394** (New Catalogue). Now **MS. Sancroft 93.** Late MS., first half of 17th cent. Written in Gk. and Lat., on paper. 108 b–111 a, Methodii. Patarensis Revelationes, a brief extract.

(7) **MS. 14732** (New Catalogue, p. 338). Now **MS. Rawlinson Poet. 241.** In Fr. and Lat. on parchment, written second part of 13th cent. in England. No. 6, pp. 189–195 a, 'In Nomine Christi incipit liber Metodii... id est De Principio seculi.' This is fully described by E. Stengel in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, Bd. xiv, p. 128 (1892).

C. The English Printed Edition of the Dialogue.

The *Dialogue* was printed in English in the sixteenth century. This sixteenth-century text is printed in parallel columns in this edition. C. L. Kingsford, in his article on Trevisa in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, writes: 'Dr. Babington ascribes to Trevisa the translation of the "Dialogue inter Militem et Clericum de potestate ecclesiastica et civile" (a Latin tract inaccurately attributed to William Ockham), which was published at London in 1540.'[1] R. L. Poole, in his article on Ockham, says: 'Ockham's political writings have all been

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. lvii, p. 213.

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enumerated in his biography. To them is usually added a "Disputatio inter militem et clericum" on the civil and ecclesiastical powers (printed by Goldast i. 13 ff.), which was translated into English in the sixteenth century, and twice published by Berthelet (2nd ed., 1540), but Dr. Riezler has shown (pp. 144–8) that it is not by Ockham, but probably by Pierre du Bois.'[1]

In the British Museum Catalogue under 'Clericus' appears: 'A Dialogue betwene a Knyght and a Clerke, concerning the power spiritual and temporal (A translation of the "Dialogus inter clericum et militem" of Gulielmus de Occam). T. Berthelet; London (1533).' Catalogue number C. 12. c. 24.

This book contains 26 folios. Size, $5 \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; print, $4 \times 2\frac{1}{3}$ in., 25 lines to a page. The *Dialogue* begins in fol. 2 a. On fol. 1 a we find: 'A Dialogue betwene a Knight and a clerke concernynge the power spiritual and temporall.' There are catchwords on each page, thirty unprinted leaves at the end.

A second copy is found in Cambridge University Library, catalogued under the number Syn. 8. 54. 52^3; without title and date. In the Catalogue the date is given (about 1540), printed by T. Berthelet. On the blank folio is written in ink: 'A Dialogue between Miles & Clericus touching the Popes power in temporalls.' In pencil is written:

'By W. of Ockham
Herbert Ames
p. 460.'

This is the same edition as that in the British Museum, but is bound up in a book with other articles. On a leaf at the beginning of this book is written 'Pasguyle The Playne, Anno MDXL'. Below in the lower margin of ornaments is the date '1534'. The contents are given on the first page over the signature of Robb. Gghibbon 1683. They are:

(1) Pasguyle the Playne, by Thos. Eliot, Knight to the Gentle Reder. Printed by Berthelet, 1540.
(2) Confession of the Church of Scotland. Printed at London by Rowland Hall, 1561.

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xli, p. 362; S. Riezler, *Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur Zeit Ludwig des Baiers*, Leipzig, 1874.

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(3) Clericus. No author, no date. Printed by Berthelet.
(4) A short description of Antichrist. No author, no date.
(5) A wonderful prophecie for MDXXXI.
(6) A Treatise against Magical Sermons, by Francis Gore.
(7) Epistle of Henry VIII.

In St. John's College, Cambridge (A. 3. 15[2]) is another copy, printed by Berthelet. No author, no date. In the Catalogue the date is given (1555?). It is the second article in a book containing seven other articles. Another copy is to be found in the same library indexed (EE. 13. 30[11]), giving no author or date. The Catalogue gives the date 1540. It is bound up with a number of other 'tracts', to which there is no index.

Reference is made to this book in Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*:[1] 'A Dialogue between a Knyght & a Clerke, concerning the power spiritual & temporal, 26 leaves, written [2](in Latin)[2] by W. Ockham, 1305. [3]See the *British Librarian*, p. 5.[3]

On a blank leaf just before p. 171, where the list of books printed by Berthelet begins, the following is written:

'1540—A Dialogue betwene a knight and a clerk, concerning the power spiritual & temporal By Wm. of Occham, a great philosopher. In English and Latin. See the Br. Librarian, p. 5, where mention is made of its being printed this year; and as T. Berthelet printed the former edition without date, I presume he might print this also. p. W. H.
W. H. = Wm. Herbert.'

This is Herbert's note, as he came into possession of Ames's material, and worked on it years before he brought out his edition of the *Antiquities* in three volumes, 1785, 1786, and 1790.

In vol. i, p. 437, he has a reference similar to his note in Ames's original, as printed above; 'Pr. by Thomas Berthelet, A dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke, concerning the power spiritual & temporal, by Wm. Occam, the great philosopher, in English & Latin, also without date'; and in the next line below is written '1540, octavo'. In a foot-note, 'See

[1] Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1749, p. 176.

[2–2] Written in ink above the line.
[3–3] Written in margin in ink.

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the *British Librarian*, p. 5, note, & Fox's *Martyrs*, vol. i, p. 510, Ed. 1641.'

Thos. F. Dibdin, in his edition of the *Antiquities* in 4 vols., 1810–19, reproduces the previous references of Herbert in vol. iii, p. 311, under No. 1230. Also in vol. iii, p. 345, he has the following notice. I give it because of his note:

'Pr. by Thos. Berthelet.

No. 1322: Dialogue. Duodecimo.

A Dialogue between a Knyght and a Clerke concernynge the power spiritual and temporal. In a neat architective compartment as to Fitzherbert's Surveying, 1555. The whole on 26 leaves.

Imprinted in Fleetstrete in the house of... nere to the condite at the sygne of Lucrece, Cum Privilegio. See it in 1540. In Herbert's Coll.

Note. My copy has in MS. "written by Wm. Ockam in the year MCCCV. Prohibetur, saith Pits, p. 458. Extat Latin in Goldast's *Monarchia*, vol. i, p. 358, No. 40, Herbert."'

The *Dialogue* is also referred to in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Books*, London, 1595, p. 112, thus: 'Against the Pope's Supremacy A Dialogue between a Knight and a Clerke, concerning the power Spirituall and Temporall. Printed by Thos. Berthelet.'

In the *British Librarian* (Lond. 1738, pp. 5–10) William Oldys gives a fairly full outline of this work. It is prefaced by the following notice:

'A Dialogue betwene a Knyght and a Clerke concernynge the power Spiritual and Temporall. Imprinted at London in Flete Strete, in the House of Tho. Berthelet, near the condite at the sign of Lucrece: cum Privilegio; without date or name of the author. 52 pages. 8vo.'

Then follows the object of the dialogue:

'This notable little tract was written to silence the clergy, and answer their unreasonable expectations, and the Pope might exercise a Jurisdiction over the Temporalties of Princes, and the church be exempted from contributing of its riches in time of need, either for the Relief of the poor or the security of the Nation where they abide; as may appear by the following abstract thereof.'

Here follows a digest of over 1,500 words.

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In the note, p. 5 of this article, referred to by Herbert and Dibdin, the writer speaks of the author and date: 'And tho the Author's name was not yet published to it, it is well known to have been written by that famous clerk and schoolman William of Occham. It was written by our author so early as the year 1305, if the MS. Note on the copy before me is right.' He also mentions another edition of it in 1540, 'wherein it is said to be written by William of Occham, the great philosopher in English and Latin (Extat Lat. in Goldast's *Monarchia* T. Ed.).' Reference is also made in this note to Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, ed. 1576, fol. 376, where he speaks of Guliel-mus Occham 'as a worthy Divine and a right sincere Judgment, as the times would then either give or suffer'. Also in fol. 393 Foxe mentions the Dialogue as of Occham's writing, 'tho' it appeared without the name of the author'.

Relation of the Printed Edition to the English Manuscripts.

A careful comparison of the original Latin and the Trevisa MSS. with the printed edition leads conclusively to the following results:

A. That the printed edition is Trevisa's translation.

B. (1) That this edition has been revised by its editor from one of the Trevisa MSS. in our possession, with the help of the Latin original, *or*

(2) That it is a copy of an original Trevisa MS. which is not now in existence.

A. *A Trevisa Translation.*

That the printed edition is a translation of Trevisa is evident from the following:

(*a*) There are many passages, sometimes two or three sentences, in the Pr. edition, exactly identical with the MSS. Very often these are very free translations of the Latin. Only a few examples are here given. The reader may test this for himself by comparing the Tr. MSS. with the Pr. in the text:

(1) 1. First Speech of Clericus.

(2) 2/12. Speech of Miles beg. 'what þei ordeyneþ' etc.—closing with 'vppon þe Kyngdom of England'.

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(3) 4/10. A trewe cristen man. Lat. Christianus.
(4) 4/4–7. Beg. but ȝif hit may be schewide . . . spiritualte.
(5) 6/2. twey diuerse tymes of crist. Lat. duo tempora in Christo.
(6) 10/2. Sentence beg. 'And ȝif ȝe wolleþ ȝett stryue etc.' l. 5, ȝoure strif schal not turne ȝow to worship atte laste. Lat. forsan ista pertinacia non erit in fine vobis gratiosa.
(7) 11/1. Tr. þanne it is soþe. Pr. for it is sothe. Lat. tenendum est igitur.
(8) 11/14. Lat. ergo etiam ratione peccati papa de sanguine iudicare. Tr. = Pr. þerfore bycause of synne þat siche men doþ þe pope schal deme and be domesman? In cause of felony & of mannes deþ.
(9) 16/10. Lat. quam homo mortalis. Tr. = Pr. in þat þat he was man y-schape for to dye.
(10) 17/10. Lat. utique operatiis & stipendiariis. Tr. = Pr. to werk men, to hyred men, to oxen & nouȝt to kynges.
(11) 22/10. Lat. regis religio. Tr. = Pr. þe good entent of þe kyng.
(12) 23/16. Lat. quod de bonis Ecclesiae secum tollunt. Tr. = Pr. takiþ to hem of holy chirche (Pr. churches) goodes & catel.
(13) 25/9. Lat. cogeremini omnibus seruire. Tr. = Pr. compelle ȝou to be þralles.
(14) 26/8. Lat. comedere splendide, iucunde bibere. Tr. = Pr. etc. & drynke wiþ grete solace & myrþe.
(15) 33/2. Lat. super orbem terrarum. Tr. = Pr. þe Emperour of his empire & þe kyng of his kyngdom.

(*b*) Certain Latin words are translated by two, sometimes three words. The words in Pr. are usually the same as in Tr. This coupling of words is one of Trevisa's characteristics:

(1) 4/5. Lat. quia non constat eum super temporalibus vestris dominium accepisse. Tr. = Pr. ffor ȝe knoweþ nouȝt þat he haþ lordschipe, power & auctorite vppon ȝoure temporalte (Pr. temporalties).
(2) 5/14. Lat. de vestris temporalibus statuere posse. Tr. = Pr. may ordeyne & make statutes of ȝoure temporalte.
(3) 6/3. Lat. alterum potestatis. Tr. = Pr. and anoþer of his power & mageste.
(4) 8/9. Lat. non ad temporale seu dominium assumptum. Tr. = Pr. & nouȝt in temporal lordschipe of casteles & of londes.
(5) 10/13. Lat. tollere principatus & regna. Tr. = Pr. þat he may take of princes & of kynges principates & kyngdoms.

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(6) 11/8. Lat. cognoscet de justo & iniusto. Tr. = Pr. schal knowe & deme of riȝtful & vnriȝtful.
(7) 11/10. Lat. debeat iudicare. Tr. = Pr. þe pope schal deme & rule.
(8) 12/12. Lat. in iudicio-temporalium. Tr. = Pr. in knowleche & demynge of temporalte.
(9) 13/3. Lat. lacerata est lex. Tr. = Pr. þe lawe is y-tore and to-rent.
(10) 13/12. Lat. vestra cognitio. Tr. = Pr. ȝoure knowleche & ȝoure dome.
(11) 13/13. Lat. accedere debet. Tr. = Pr. schal refreyne & chastee.
(12) 14/7. Lat. per sententiam iuris. Tr. = Pr. by sentence & dome of lawe.
(13) 14/8. Lat. aut euidentiam sceleris. Tr. = Pr. oþer by open euydence & knowleche of þe trespass.
(14) 14/15. Lat. cognoscere de causa matrimonii. Tr. = Pr. to know & to deme in cause of matrimonye & of wedlock.
(15) 15/12. Lat. & saepe firmari possit regalibus instrumentis. Tr. = Pr. & schal be preued oþer dispreued by preues oþer dispreues of þe kynges lawe.
(16) 15/14. Lat. in cognitione. Tr. = Pr. in dome & in knowleche.
(17) 16/1. Lat. de haereditate iudicare. Tr. = Pr. to deme & dele heritage.
(18) 16/6. Lat. debet regere. Tr. = Pr. schal gouerne & rule.
(19) 23/13. Lat. vestram violentiam. Tr. = Pr. ȝoure violence & ȝoure wrong.
(20) 24/10. Lat. & bonorum vestrorum. Tr. = Pr. & of ȝoure owne godes and catel.
(21) 24/14. Lat. non perstrepite. Tr. = Pr. y pray ȝou leteþ be ȝoure noyse & ȝoure grucchyng.
(22) 26/2. Lat. sic estis nunc in vestris profectibus querulosi. Tr. = Pr. & so now ȝe playneþ & grucchiþ in ȝoure owne profit.
(23) 28/9, 29/5. Lat. materiali. Tr. = Pr. of lyme & of stoones.
(24) 28/14. Lat. salus. Tr. = Pr. helpe & sauacioun.
(25) 33/14. Lat. principum. Tr. of princes & of kynges. Pr. = kinges & princes.

(*c*) A number of short passages found in Tr. and Pr. which do not appear in the Latin original:

(1) 4/12. Whole sentence quoted beg.: 'axe of me' given in Tr. & Pr., but only the first part is given in Latin, viz. postula a me & dabo tibi gentes.

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(2) 8/3, wolde have made hym kyng.
(3) 10/4, after his resurrectioun.
(4) 12/13, in what þat longeþ to temporalte.
(5) 13/15, whanne he seiþ euereche soule, hit semeþ þat noon is out take (Pr. = excepted).
(6) 14/17, for þe knyttinge of þe dede.
(7) 17/13, and of þe spiritualte.
(8) 20/11, beg. 'for þe whiche'. Tr. & Pr. nearly the same.
(9) 20/15, while ȝe recchiþ. 21/4, holy entent. 24/1, grete sclandre. 21/6, god almyȝty.

(*d*) A few phrases are found in Tr. and Pr., but are different in Latin:

(1) 3/1. Lat. super regnum Franciae. Tr. = Pr. vppon þe Kyngdom of Engelond.
(2) 15/1. Lat. ego vado Paduæ. Tr. = Pr. lo ich go into ȝoure cuntraye.
(3) 15/7. Lat. ducatum Burgundiae. Tr. = Pr. a ducherye.

(*e*) Passages not found in all the Tr. MSS., but where the Pr. agrees with the Latin:

(1) 5/4. Lat. quia Christianus sum & esse volo. Pr. = S. for he may not be wiþ-seide in no maner wise. (The other Tr. MSS. omit 'not' in 'may not'.)
(2) 8/6. Lat. quod procul a vobis sit. Pr. but god forbydde that they shulde so now (*om.* in H, but with slight variation found in the other Tr. MSS.).
(3) 11/6, after 'Miles'. Lat. hoc absit, nam qui hoc negauerit, poenitentiam & confessionem abnegabit. Pr. = other Tr. MSS. except H, but god hit forbydde for who þat denyeþ þat denyeþ.
(4) 23/7. Lat. ne animas mortuorum salutemque viuorum defrauderis. Pr. that ye begyle not and deceyue the quycke and the deed. (C only Tr. MS. similar to Pr.)—þat ȝe bigile not þe quyk and þe dede. (Other Tr. MSS. omit 'not' after 'bigile'.)
(5) 34/1, after 'nede', passage *om.* in H, but found in other Tr. MSS. and agrees with Lat. & Pr. Lat. nam & irridet scripturum vestram praescriptionem, cum a Salomone vsque ad Ioas & a Ioas vsque ad Ezechielem non legitur esse factum quod tamen Ezechiel perfecit (for English of Pr. & MSS. see text, p. 34).
(6) 35/1, after 'comynte', S similar to Pr. & Lat. Not in other Tr. MSS.
(7) 35/8, after 'nede', S similar to Pr. & Lat. Not in other Tr. MSS.

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B (1). *An Editor's Revision.*

That the printed edition is a revision of one of the Trevisa MSS. with the help of the Latin original is evident from the following:

(*a*) Certain passages are found in Lat. & Pr., but not in the Tr. MSS.:

(1) 2/2. Lat. si nostra bono non damus. Pr. if we gyue not oure goodes. Tr. ȝif we ȝeueþ nouȝt.
(2) 2/8. Lat. iniurias innumeras. Pr. innumerable wrongs. Tr. wrong.
(3) 3/5, after 'auctorite'. Pr. beg. 'wherefor it is a thynge in vayne' etc. to end of sentence.
(4) 3/10, after 'whanne he haþ y-write'. Lat. sic totum erit vestrum. Pr. and so all thyng shall be yours.
(5) 5/1, after 'wordes'. Lat. nec nos ea scripsimus, sed ea misit Dominus & spiritus sanctus dictauit. Pr. nor we wrote them not, but god sente them, and the holy gooste spake them.
(6) 7/12, after 'erþe'. Lat. quia illa nobis necessaria sunt. Pr. for these thynges are necessary for us.
(7) 8/6, after 'kyngdom of heuene'. Lat. constat. Pr. also it is euydent & playne.
(8) 9/12, after 'first state'. Lat. sic patuit. Pr. it is playne.
(9) 10/16, one sentence after '& he dide so to ȝow'. Lat. = Pr.
(10) 11/12, after 'is riȝt nouȝt'. Lat. = Pr.
(11) 11/14, after 'vnriȝtful'. Lat. & peccatum etiam. Pr. and also synne.
(12) 15/2, after 'is eyr þerof'. Lat. videtis quod ratione matrimonii. Pr. ye see that by reason of matrimonye.
(13) 15/13, after 'kynges lawe'. Lat. = Pr. sentence beg. and for so moch.
(14) 18/12, after 'primat'. Lat. = Pr. for as the power — confounded.
(15) 21/11, after 'plesyng'. Lat. coram Domino. Pr. to oure lorde.
(16) 22/9, after 'goddes hous'. Lat. = Pr. and þey gaue hit — goddes hous.
(17) 36/1, after 'goddes lawe'. Pr. beg. Cleri. The emperours 35/27 . . . be subiecte to the realme 36/26. The Pr. is a literal trans. of Latin.

(*b*) Passages in which Pr. is more literal than Tr.:

(1) 1, first speech of Miles. Tr. translates briefly, but Pr. is full and very close to Latin.

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(2) 6/2. Tr. oon of his manhed. Pr. one of his humilitate. Lat. alterum humilitatis.

(3) 9/5. Tr. & serue mete bordes & gouerne temperalte. Pr. & serue meate, bourdes, that is to saye, to dispose temporall thyngs. Lat. ministrare mensae : id est temporalibus dispensandis.

(4) 11/12. Tr. þis argument is riȝt nouȝt. Pr. this is a forked argument. Lat. argumentum istud cornutum est.

(5) 13/5. Tr. riȝt wisnesse. Pr. ryghtful dome and iustyce. Lat. iustitiam & iudicium.

(6) 13/15. Tr. to þe over power. Pr. to the hyghe powers. Lat. potestatibus sublimioribus.

(7) 18/11. Tr. þe kynges prest. Pr. my priest. Lat. meus sacerdos.

(8) 19/10. Tr. ȝe stireþ me & wakiþ me as hit were of my sleep. Pr. ye awake the slepynge dogge. Lat. vos exercitatis canem dormientem.

(9) 22/8. Tr. & helde out & tolde þe money. Pr. and poured oute and tolde the money. Lat. effundebantque & numerabant pecuniam.

(10) 23/10. Tr. in chiuelrie. Pr. on your busy and unruly souldiers, and on shippes and ingins of warre. Lat. sed militares tumultus & bellicosas classes.

(11) 27/13. Tr. þat he hymsilf had do þere. Tr. that he hymselfe had there stycked up. Lat. quas ipse affixerat.

(12) 31/6. Tr. tribute. Pr. the tribute or dragme. Lat. census siue didrachma.

There are other passages, longer than these listed, where Pr. gives a literal translation, while Tr. is frequently incorrect, and very free.

(*c*) In the printed text the Biblical allusions are filled in and completed. Very often Trevisa differs from the Latin in the number of the chapter. Again, he is careless about giving the chapter number. These faults are remedied in the printed text. In nearly every case the printed agrees with the Latin. In one instance 21/10, Pr. = Lat. 2 Paral. 14 cap., which is corrected by Tr. to 2 Paral. 24°. 9/1. Lat. & Tr. give reference Luce. Pr. corrects this to Jo. 18 and Matt. 20. These, however, are exceptions. Usually Pr. has corrected Tr. to agree with the Latin. (The complete corrections will be found in the notes.)

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(*d*) The printed edition omits Trevisa's note, pp. 6–7, on the nature of Christ's power and majesty.

(*e*) The printed edition gives a completed and finished ending to the *Dialogue*.

B (2). *The Dialogue as printed is from a copy of an original Trevisa MS.*

All the evidence given above under B (1) *a*, *b*, *c*, and *e* would also go to show that the editor or printer of the printed edition had a manuscript copy of the *Dialogue* much closer to Trevisa's original translation than our five MSS. If this be so our MSS. must be later mutilated copies. Why did the scribe in the MS. from which the printed copy is taken leave out the Trevisa note? The absence of this note seems to point to an editor's revision.

D. Latin Printed Editions.

The Dialogue.

1. 1470? Cologne. Printed by U. Zell. 4to. Without title-page, pagination, or catchwords; 16 leaves, 26 lines to a page. This edition contains a brief compendium concerning the nature of Antichrist.
2. 1475. Cologne, a second edition. 4to.
3. 1480? Vienna. Pr. by Johannes Salidi. 4to. 17 printed leaves, without title-page, pagination, or catchwords. 26 lines.
4. 1485? Ulm. 4to. 14 pages. Has section on Antichrist.
5. 1490? Augsburg. Pr. by J. Froschauer. 4to. 12 leaves with no pagination. Contains account of Antichrist.
6. 1490? Colonie. Pr. by Henricum Quentell. Account of Antichrist at end. Two copies in British Museum.
7. 1491. Deventer. Pr. by R. Paffroet. 4to. 9 leaves, 37 or 38 lines. No pagination or catchwords. Contains account of Antichrist.
8. 1495? Colonie. Pr. by Henricum Quentell. 4to.
9. 1531? Londini. Pr. by Thome Bertheleti. Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem . . . sub forma Dialogi (Guliel-mus de Occam).

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10. 1609. Argentorati. Pr. by S. Schardius in *Syntagna Tractatum de Imperiali Jurisdictione.* 172 i. 1.
11. 1612–14. Hanover. 3 vols. Melchior Goldast, *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii.* (*Dialogue*, vol. i, pp. 13–18.)

The Sermon.

1. 1475? Louvain. 34 leaves, 30 lines to a page. No title-page, pagination, or catchwords.
2. 1480? Louvain. 26 leaves, 33 lines to a page.
3. 1485. Rouen. 50 leaves, 23 lines, without pagination. (Two copies in Br. Mus.)
4. 1495. Paris. Pr. by Ant. Caillant. 47 pages, 34 lines to a page. (Camb. Univ. Lib.)
5. 1496. Lyons. Pr. by J. Trechsel. 28 leaves, in double cols. 55 lines, no pagination. (Two copies in Br. Mus.)
6. 1496. Lugduno. Pr. by Marco Alexandro Beneventano. (Bodl. Library.)
7. 1500? Paris. Pr. by A. Cayllant. 27 leaves, 34 lines to a page. No pagination.
8. 1535. Coloniae. By O. Gratius. 1690, London, ed. Edward Brown. 2 Tom. *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum.* (*Sermon* in vol. ii, pp. 466–86.)
9. 1612–14. Hanover. 3 vols. Melchior Goldast, *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii.* (*Sermon*, vol. ii, pp. 1392–1410.)
10. 1625. Paris. Pr. by Joan Libert. (Two copies in Bodl. Library; one, 136 pages, bound up with a number of other articles in Latin and Greek; the other bound alone, same number of pages, same date and printer.)
11. 1633. Paris. Pr. by Petrum Billaine. 8vo. (Two copies in Br. Mus.)

Methodius.

1. 1470? *Revelationes.* Pr. by Bonaventure. 4to.
2. 1490? Memmingen. By Albert Kunne. Edition of *Revelationes.*
3. 1496. Augsburg. Pr. by Johannes Froschauer. 4to. (Three copies in Br. Mus. A few MS. notes.)
4. 1498. Basilee. Pr. by M. Furter. 4to. Ed. by S. Brant. 68 pages, without pagination.

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5. 1504. Basilee. Pr. by M. Furter (also in 1514 and 1515). Ed. with a preface by S. Brant. 4to. (All copies in Br. Mus.)
6. 1555. Basileae. Pr. by Johann Heroldt, *Orthodoxographa Theologia Sacro Sanctae ac Syncerioris Fidei Doctores numero LXXVII.*
7. 1569. Basileae. J. J. Grynaeus, *Monumenta S. Patrum Orthodoxographa, etc.* (*Revelationes* in Greek, vol. i, pp. 93–100. Latin, pp. 100–13.) 3 vols.
8. 1618–22. Coloniae Agrippinae. Ed. Margarinus de la Bigne; *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, et Antiquorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum.* 15 tom.
9. 1654. Paris. Ed. by M. de la Bigne, *Magna Bibliotheca, etc.* 17 tom.
10. 1677. Lugduni. Genuae. Ed. M. de la Bigne, *Magna Bibliotheca, etc.* 28 tom. (*Revelationes*, tom. 3, pp. 727–34.)

PART II

TREVISA'S LIFE AND WORKS.

It shall be my aim in these notes to put into condensed form some of the things written about Trevisa, the present known facts in regard to his life and work, and one or two discoveries that have been made during the course of this investigation. I regret that I have not been able to get at all the possible sources, that I was not able to go to Cornwall to examine the muniments at Castle Horneck, Pentillie Castle, and Mount Edgcumbe.[1] The Charters and Muniments of Berkeley Castle,[2] where Trevisa spent most of his life, were not examined.

[1] In a letter dated June 3, 1915, Mr. P. E. B. Porter, The Hermitage, Saltash, Cornwall, wrote me that in a recent interview Lord Mount Edgcumbe told him that the Edgcumbe MSS. had recently been noted and classified. There was no reference to Trevisa.

[2] The MSS. at Berkeley were catalogued by Mr. J. H. Jeayes in 1892. Lord Fitzhardinge's secretary, May 31, 1915, wrote me that this catalogue is complete.

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I was greatly aided in this search by the suggestions of noted Cornish antiquarians. They all think that careful search will reveal new information in regard to Trevisa's life.

The known facts about Trevisa are that he belonged to a Cornish family, he was a student at Oxford, was Vicar of Berkeley, and while there translated certain works from Latin into English.

A. Trevisa's Life.

The notes on Trevisa's life group themselves around:

(1) The place and date of his birth.

(2) Oxford days.

(3) His life at Berkeley.

I. *Place and Date of his Birth.*

No records thus far have come to hand giving us the exact place and date of his birth. Most of his biographies mention Crocadon or Caradok, Cornwall, as his birthplace. Later writers give the date of his birth as well. These dates run from 1322 to 1342.

Bale[1] and Pits[2] mention Cornwall only, while Tanner,[3] Fuller,[4] Carew,[5] Townley,[6] and Sir John MacLean[7] speak of his birthplace as Caradok or Crocadon, without giving the date.

Gilbert[8] says: 'In 13— was born at Crocadon, in the parish of St. Mellion, near Saltash, John Trevisa, who was educated

[1] John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Brit. Cat.*, Bâle, 1559, p. 518 (genere ac patria Cornubiensis).

[2] Joannis Pitsei, *De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus*, Paris, 1619, No. 724 (Patria Cornubiensis).

[3] Thomas Tanner, *Bibl. Britannico-Hibernico*, London, 1748, p. 720 (Patria Cornubiensis apud Caradok natus).

[4] Thomas Fuller, *Worthies of England*, 2 vols., 1622, ed. 1811, vol. i, p. 217 (born at Caradok in Cornwall); id., *The Church History of Britain*, London, 1655, Bk. IV, p. 151 (born at Crocadon in Cornwall).

[5] Richard Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, ed. 1602, 1769, 1811 . . . p. 269 (Crocadon is the mansion of Charles Trevisa, Esq., descended from John Trevisa, born in this place, as I am informed, bred at Oxford).

[6] Rev. Jas. Townley, *Illustrations of Bibl. Lit.*, 1821, vol. ii, pp. 49–55 (born at Caradoc in Co. of Cornwall).

[7] Sir John MacLean, *The Lives of the Berkeleys* (The Berkeley MSS.), by John Smyth of Nibley, 3 vols., 1883, vol. i, p. 343.

[8] C. S. Gilbert, *Historical Survey of the Co. of Cornwall*, 2 vols., 1817, p. 128, vol. i.

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at Oxford &c.' Rogers[1] quotes Carew: 'John de Trevisa was born according to our county historian, Carew, at Crocadon, near Saltash (Carew's *Cornwall*, ed. 1811, p. 269) &c. in the year 1342.' Boase and Courtney:[2] 'Born at Crocadon in St. Mellion 1326.' Cooke[3] places his birth at Crocadon, in the parish of St. Mellion, near Saltash about 1322. C. W. Boase gives the date 1342.[4] Hals[5] says he was born in Gloucestershire, giving Baker as his authority.

Crocadon was situated in the parish of St. Mellion in Hundred of East. An adjoining parish was St. Enedor, in Hundred of Pyder, in which was situated Trevisa, or Tre-wisa.[6] Carew[7] speaks of Crocadon as a district near Halton and Cultayle (Calstock), describing it thus: 'Upon the top of a creek herby lyeth Crocadon, the mansion of M. Trevisa, a Gent. deriving himself from the ancient and wel deserving chronicler of that name: he beareth G., a garbe, O.' Hals in his note gives us the meaning of the word, which agrees with Carew: 'Croca-don, or Croucadon, Cruco-don, words signifying bank, hillock or tumulus, hill or town, a place noticeable for banners.'

There is evidence that this Crocadon, near Saltash, was the family seat of the Trevisas, at least through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and up to the beginning of the eighteenth, but this evidence does not go back far enough for our present study.

The earliest marriage in the Trevisa family recorded by Vivian was in 1596, December 1, between John Trevisa of St. Mellion and Margaret Courtney of Lazacke.[8] Many marriages

[1] John J. Rogers, *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, No. XI, April 1870, pp. 147 ff.

[2] G. C. Boase and W. P. Courtney, *Bibl. Cornubiensis*, 3 vols., 1874–82, vol. ii, p. 795.

[3] Jas. Herbert Cooke, *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.*, 1876, vol. i, p. 138.

[4] Rev. C. W. Boase, *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis* (Ox. Hist. Soc.), Clarendon Press, 1894, p. 11.

[5] Wm. Hals, *Parochial Hist. of Cornwall*, 4 vols. 1867–72 (ed. Jos. Polsue), vol. i, p. 339; vol. iii, p. 309.

[6] Hals, *Parochial Hist. of Cornwall*, vol. i, p. 339; vol. iii, p. 305; Daniels and Collins, *History of Cornwall*, p. 419; John Norden, *A Typographical Hist. Des. of Cornwall*, London, 1728, p. 92.

[7] Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, ed. 1602, p. 114.

[8] Col. J. L. Vivian, *The Marriage Licences of the Diocese of Exeter*, 1887, p. 12.

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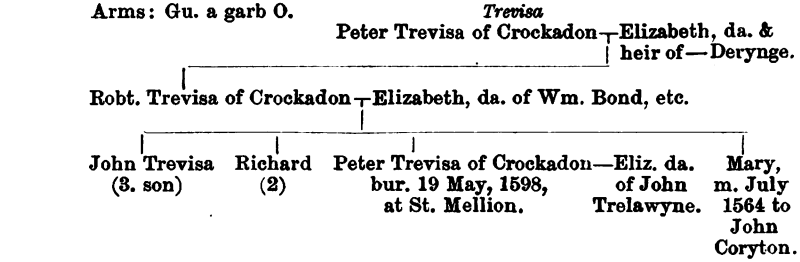
of the Trevisas of St. Erth and St. Mellion are recorded in the seventeenth century.

We get no help concerning John Trevisa and his ancestry from the parish registers of Cornwall, as the earliest begins in 1539.

The best evidence we have that Trevisas lived at Crocadon, at or near the time of our Trevisa's birth, is given by Vivian in his *Visitations of Cornwall*.[1] The earliest date he gives in his genealogical table is 1598. This is, however, the death of a Trevisa of the third generation in his list. The first of this table is here given:



The pedigree continues (pp. 509–10) to 1703, to Wm. Trevisa, posthumous son of Wm. Trevisa of Crocadon and Mary Dorothy, da. ———. He was buried March 19, 1703–4, at St. Mellion. He took his seat in Parliament for Callington in 1679.[2] Mr. Cooke [3] thinks the family became extinct with the death of this William in 1703. The estate was sold about 1690 to Sir Wm. Coryton, the ancestor of the present owner, Col. Coryton of Pentillie Castle. Crocadon was the seat of the Corytons until they removed to Pentillie in Pellaton, 1812.[4]

By Vivian's tables we learn that the Trevisas married into many of the noted families of that part of Cornwall, e. g. (1) Courtenay of Landrake, p. 117; (2) Coryton of West Newton (see above table), p. 101; (3) Buller of Shillingham

[1] Col. J. L. Vivian, *The Visitations of Cornwall* (comprising the Heralds Visitations of 1530, 1573, 1620), London and Exeter, 1877, pp. 506–10.

[2] W. P. Courtney, *Parl. Hist. of Cornwall*, 1889, p. 273.

[3] J. H. Cooke, *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.*, 1876, vol. i, pp. 138 ff.

[4] Joseph Polsue, *Parochial Hist. of Cornwall*, 4 vols., 1867–72, vol. iii, p. 309.

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(Trevisa of Trevisa), p. 56; (4) Battersby of Battersby Hall, in Com. York, p. 21.

Gilbert[1] says: 'The Arms of Trevisa, Gules, a Garbe, Or.[2] appear among the quarterings of several of the principal families of Cornwall, and that few have a fairer claim with respect to antiquity.' They are found in the quarterings of such families as Vyvyan, Trelowarren and Buller.[3] The Vivian family coat of arms is as follows: 'Arms:—Arg. on the waves of the sea, Az. a lion rampant, Gu. quartering; 2 Ferrers, 3 Arundel, 4 Glyn, 5 Thretherffe, 6 St. Aubyn, 7 Chalons, 8 Charlton, 9 Leigh, 10 Courtney and Redvers quarterly, 11 Trevisa. Crest: a horse, passant, . . .[4]

Many of the Trevisas held seats in Parliament during these centuries. Polsue points out that Ralph de Trevysa was M.P. for Liskeard in 1357; for Lostwithiel 1360–2; and Ralph and Richard Trevisa were M.P.s for Launceston in 1371.[5] In Cal. of Close Rolls, 45 Edw. III, m. 33 d, Mar. 29, and m. 29 d, Apr. 27, Ralph Trevysa is one of the burgesses for Donhevedburgh, although in index given under Launceston. We thus see that the Trevisa family was of some importance in the fourteenth century in the county of Cornwall.

The only reference to the Trevisas in the Calendar of Wills and Administrations relating to the counties of Devon and Cornwall (1540–1798)[6] is to Wm. Trefusis, St. Earth in 1594. This is a very common name, in this part of Cornwall, during the fifteenth century. In ancient deeds, numbered A 10401, 14 Henry IV;[7] A 9948, 4 Henry V;[8] and A 11429, 18 Richard II,[9] Henry Trefusa appears as a witness. In an Ancient Deed marked A 13009, 13 Henry VI,[10] John Trefusis appears as a witness to a feoffment.

[1] Gilbert's *Survey of England*, vol. ii, p. 309.

[2] Rogers (see p. lvii) points out that this coat of arms is confirmed by a MS. note-book of the Heralds' Visitation of Cornwall in Camden's time in possession of Wm. Borlasse, of Castle Horneck.

[3] Gilbert's *Survey*, vol. i, p. 159.

[4] Pedigree of Family of Vivian of Cornwall, reprinted from *Visitations*, by Lieut.-Col. J. L. Vivian.

[5] Polsue, *Hist. of Cornwall*, vol. iii, p. 309; Gilbert, vol. ii, p. 309.

[6] Edward Alex. Fry, *Cal. of Wills and Administrations of Devon and Cornwall*, 1908, p. 183.

[7] *A Description of Ancient Deeds in Public Record Office*, London, 5 vols., 1902, vol. iv, p. 550.

[8] Ibid., p. 482.

[9] Ibid., vol. v, p. 143.

[10] Ibid., vol. v, p. 426.

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Ancient Deeds, A 10385,[1] Feoffment of John Trevisa and Amisia his wife to Henry Trewysa and Martin Pendre of all lands, &c., in the towns of Lannargh Mor, &c., 10 Aug., 22 Edward IV. Also in Ancient Deeds, A 9454,[2] a general release by John Carewe, clerk, and Richard Lannargh Vian to John Trevisa, Christopher Barlowe, &c., 16 Oct., 2 Henry VII. In A 10293,[3] bond by Wm. Luddi to John Trevisa, Elizabeth Lannargh and Marina Lannargh in 20*l.* at Easter, 13 Feb., 1 Richard III. Also a deed dated 1390, by which Henry de Trefussa grants to John Myn of Helstonburgh, in tail, a messuage and an acre of land in Helston (Anc. Deeds, A 10341).[4]

We thus see that the Trevisas resided at Crocadon at least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that this was an important family in the adjacent sections during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but it is not evident that they resided at Crocadon at the time of John Trevisa's birth. The evidence seems to be that the family did not settle there until the middle of the fifteenth century. According to Feudal Aid 1428 the landholder in demesne of Croketon, in that year, was Richard Geade. He receives a feudal aid of 11*s.* 11*d.* for land held in Croketon, in Hundredum De Est.[5] Feudal aid was granted to the previous owner Johanne (de Ferrariis) in 1346.[6]

The name *Trevisa.*

Cooke, in his article on Trevisa and the Chapel at Berkeley Castle, was the first of the modern writers to call attention to the name. 'There is no authority,' he says, 'for the *de* often prefixed, the name being one of the old Cornish, "Tre, Pol, and Pen" names.'[7]

There was a place, Trevisa, or Tre-wisa in S. Enedor, and Hals thinks the family name came from this.[8] The same opinion is held by Henry Jenner, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary of the Royal Institute of Cornwall. He says: 'The family name

[1] *A Description of Ancient Deeds in Public Record Office*, London, vol. iv, p. 548.
[2] Ibid., vol. iv, p. 425.
[3] Ibid., vol. iv, p. 532.
[4] Ibid., vol. iv. p. 548.
[5] *Feudal Aids* (1284–1431), vol. i, p. 234.
[6] Ibid., vol. i, p. 212.
[7] Jas. Herbert Cooke, *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.*, 1876, vol i, p. 138.
[8] Hals, *Parochial Hist. of Cornwall*, vol. iii, p. 305.

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evidently comes from a place called Trevisa, which is *Trev-isa*, the lower town. When it occurs it is contrasted with Trewhella, which is *Tre whella*, the upper or higher town. There is a Trevisa in St. Enedor, and close by a Trewhella. But the more usual contracted names with the same meaning are Trewartha and Trewallas.[1] In his article in the *Celtic Review*, he speaks of these differentiating epithets, *wartha* and *wallas*, for upper and lower, *gwida* and *dew*, for white and black, *mear* and *bean* for great and little.[2]

II. *Life at Oxford.*

When we come to consider his student days at Oxford, we are on surer ground. There are at least a few definite records as to his career. This period of his life is not mentioned by either Bale or Pits. Tanner speaks of it thus: 'Trevisa (Johannes) Collegi Exon. dein reginalis Oxon. socius.'[3]

According to Boase, he entered Exeter College, Lent 1362, remaining there until the winter of 1365. A Fellow of Queen's 1369–74, he was expelled in 1379, but as late as 1396 was paying xiii *s.* iiii *d.* for a chamber at Queen's.[4] He was a student at Exeter in 1362, for in one of the Computi of the then Rector of Exeter College, Robert de Clist or Clyst, mention is made of John Trevysa.[5] Among the Rector's accounts is that for the 'allowances dietis of John Trevyse, who came into commons on Sunday in the same week'.[5] Lent 1362, 'pro dietis Johannis Trevyse qui venit ad comunas die dominica, viii *d.*'[5] In the

[1] In a letter dated August 4, 1914.

[2] Henry Jenner, 'Cornwall a Celtic Nation', in *Celtic Review*, 1904, vol. i, pp. 234–45. The Rev. R. Polwhele, in *Hist. of Cornwall*, 1803, has the note: '*Trev*, a house, '*Trevissan*, the lower town.' In the *Cornish Drama*, 2 vols., trans. and ed. by Edwin Norris, Oxford, 1859, vol. ii, p. 427, under the word Trevedic (*trefedig*, inhabited, *trefedigion*, dwellers, from *tref*, a hamlet, W *treb*, anc. Ir.); *treabh*, f. Gaelic, pron. *trev*. In *Parliamentary Hist. of Cornwall*, by W. P. Courtney, 1889, we find several Cornish names in 'Tre', Trelawny, Tremayne, Treffry, Trenwith, Trewinnard, still surviving in Cornwall.

[3] Thos. Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.-Hib.*, 1748, p. 720.

[4] C. W. Boase, *Register of Exeter College*, 1894, p. 11.

[5] *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Report II (Exeter College, 1870, pp. 128, 129); also Boase, *Register of Exeter College*, Introd., li. Noticed by John J. Rogers of Penrose, *Journal of Royal Institution of Cornwall* (*Trans.*), vol. iii, April 1874, p. 262.

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computi of the Rector Robert de Clist for the year 1364, in his rendering of accounts, we find: 'xii *d.* pro condutione duorum equorum quando Rector et Johannes Trevyse fuerunt apud West Wyttenham ad componendum cum firmariis pro horreo faciendo. Autumn 1364 (pensiones sociorum) vii *s.* v *d.* ob. q. Johanni Trevisa.'

We have no record of when he left Exeter and became a Fellow at Queen's. As noticed above, Boase says, 'he was a Fellow at Queen's from 1369–74, was expelled in 1379, &c.' Among the Computi of 1371–2 of Queen's, in a list of payments to the Fellows, we find that 'Trevisa (who had now removed to this College from Exeter College) received half a mark and one penny'.[1] Also in the same year under the expenses of the chapel is the following entry: 'The expenses of Middelworth and Trevisa, in showing the muniments of the Church of Newbold (Newbold Pacey, Co. Warwick) at Strettone, and their charges on the road 36 *d.*).'[1] In the Computus of Robert Blakedone for 1372–3 the name of John Trevisa appears as a Fellow.

In 1379 he, with the Provost and other Fellows, was expelled from Queen's. There seems to have been serious trouble at Oxford about the beginning of Richard I's reign. Anthony Wood, referring to the year 1379, speaks of certain controversies, and says:

'For so great was the enormity between the Provost and Fellows of the same three years since, whether upon account of heresy or elevation of a Provost, I know not, that they not only brought a scandal but a visitation on the College. Alexander Nevile, Arch. of York, receiving divers appeals and complaints from them, sent his Com. to visit the College.'[2]

Evidence of this trouble is found in Close Rolls, 50 Edw. III, m. 9:

'The Provost and Scholars of the College called La Quenehalle, Oxford, of which the Arch. of York is visitor, are commanded to observe all ordinances and statutes of the College, and to be obedient to the Arch., and to the Commissaries whom he

[1] *Historical MSS. Commission*, Report II (Queen's College, Oxford), 1870, p. 140; Rogers. *J. of R. I. C.*, vol. iv, April 1870, p. 262.

[2] J. Gutch, edition of Anthony Wood's *Antiquities and Annals*, 1792, vol. i, Bk. I, p. 495.

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sends to correct defects and disputes which have arisen in the College, 18 Nov.'[1]

There appear expulsions before that of Trevisa and his associates, for in a Close Roll, 1 Richard II, January 10, Fellows were excluded from the College because of disputes between the Provost and the Scholars, concerning statutes of the College: 'and these statutes having been ratified and confirmed by the King, he commands Thomas de Karlell, Provost of the College, and the Scholars to re-elect the excluded Fellows, if there be evidence of humility and amendment in them'.[2] (1378, Jan. 10.)

The next mention of trouble at Queen's in the Rolls is that in Patent, 1 Richard II, pt. v, m. 26 (April 6), where a commission is given to Thomas de la Mare, Knight, Edmund de Stonore and Reginald de Sheffeld and those deputed by them, to command Richard de Thorpe, clerk, William Frank, and William Middleworth, clerk, to restore to Master Thomas de Carlol, Provost of the College called 'Quenehalle', Oxford, the college seal, writings, muniments, keys, books and goods, failing to do which they are to be arrested and brought before the Council at Westminster for punishment.[3]

On June 26, 1379 (Close Rolls, 3 Rich. II, m. 41), the Chancellor and Rectors of the University of Oxford were commanded to inquire by a jury, in whose hands now are the charters, books, jewels, and other muniments, goods, and chattels of the College called The Quenhalle, which were taken away by certain of the scholars now removed.[4] Trevisa's name does not appear in the order.

On May 1, 1380 (Patent Rolls, 3 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 30), a pardon of outlawry was granted to Master William Middleworth, for not appearing to render chattels to Master Thomas Karlell, Provost of the College called 'le Quenhall'.[5]

[1] *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1374–7, p. 400. Mentioned in *Statutes of Oxford Colleges*, 3 vols., 1853, vol. iii, App., p. 32.

[2] *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Rich. II, 1377–81, p. 42; also *Statutes of Oxford Colleges*, vol. iii, App., p. 33.

[3] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Rich. II, 1377–81, p. 204; also *Statutes of Oxford Colleges*, vol. iii, App., p. 33.

[4] *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Rich. II, 1377–81, p. 258; *Statutes of Oxford Colleges*, vol. iii, App., p. 34.

[5] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Rich. II, 1377–81, p. 432.

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Anthony Wood[1] states that in 1379 Mr. Henry Whytefield, the Provost, Mr. Will Fraunke, Mr. Robert Lydeford, and Mr. John Trevisa, Fellows, were expelled by the second visitation of the Archbishop of York (no reference to this in Patent or Close Rolls), and that they took with them divers charters, books, jewels, money, and goods belonging to the College. Wood makes the order as in Close Rolls, 3 Rich. II, m. 41 (see above), refer to these thefts by the Fellows first mentioned. His statement is not in agreement with the Rolls, nor is there any mention of the expulsion of Trevisa before October 20, 1379 (Patent Rolls, 3 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 20 d), when a 'Commission of oyer and terminer' is granted

'to the chancellor of the University of Oxford for the time being, Master John de Bloxham, Master Thomas Walleworth, Master John de Calton, and Master Robert Dix after enquiry at Oxford into the complaint of Master Thomas de Karlell, Provost of 'Quenehalle', and the scholars of that college, that Master Henry Whitfield, late provest, and Master William Fraunk, Master Robert Lydeford, and Master John Trevisa, late scholars and fellows thereof, who have been excluded therefrom for their unworthiness (*exigentibus demeritis*), refuse to account for certain moneys of the college that came to their hands as well before the cession of the said Henry and the exclusion of the other three as after, and have taken away charters, books, jewels and muniments, besides goods belonging to the college.'[2]

Also Feb. 7, 1380 (Patent Rolls, 3 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 12 d) a commission of oyer and terminer

'to Master William Berton, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Master John Shirburn, Master Thomas Swyndon and Master Robert Bix, on complaint of Master Thomas Karlell, the provost, and the scholars of the college "Le Quenehall", Oxford, that Master Henry Whitfield, the late provost, Master William Fraunk, Master Robert Lideford and Master John Trevisa, late scholars and fellows of the college, now excluded therefrom, refuse to account for money which came to their hands, as well before the resignation of the said Henry and the exclusion of the said William, Robt. and John, as afterwards, and also took away charters, books, jewels and other muniments belonging to the college and pledged the same. The commis-

[1] *Antiquities and Annals*, vol. i, Bk. I, p. 495.

[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Rich. II, 1377–81, p. 420.

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sioners are to proceed by sworn examination of both parties and other scholars of the University and to compel restitution.'[1]

These charters of the University were found and voluntarily restored by Mr. Whytefield to Mr. Thomas Karliel, Provost of the College.[2]

Trevisa's career at Oxford did not end in 1379, for, according to Thomsón, he was mentioned as a Fellow in a Computus of 1385, along with William Trevillis, another Cornish man. Also in 1386–7 he paid the College four marks for four years' room rent, 'and six and eight pence for expenses of some proceedings against him; whilst on the back of the roll where these entries occur is a memorandum half illegible, that seems to say he did not pay the sum, '*de obligatione*'.[3] Later than this we find him at Oxford. In the Computi for 19 Richard II (1395–6) he is entered as paying 14*s.* 4*d.* yearly for a chamber rented at Queen's, although no longer a Fellow. In the Roll for 22–3 Rich. II, 1398–9, he is entered as still paying, and it is further stated that this is only part of the amount which he formerly paid.[4]

III. *Life at Berkeley Castle.*

Bale, Pits, and Tanner all tell us that he was Vicar of Berkeley (Vicarius de Berkeley). Rogers says: 'He was appointed domestic chaplain at Berkeley Castle by Thomas Lord Berkeley, who subsequently presented him to the Vicarage of Berkeley, where he is believed to have died A.D. 1412, at the ripe age of 70.'[5] Boase and Courtney say that he was 'Vicar of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, Chaplain to Thomas, Maurice, and Thomas, eighth, ninth, and tenth Lords of Berkeley, 1350–1412; that he resided generally in Gloucestershire, travelled in Germany and Savoy, died at Berkeley 1412, and was buried in the Chancel of the church'.[6]

Trevisa was at Berkeley when he finished his *Polychronicon*

[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Rich. II, 1377–81, p. 470.

[2] Gutch, ed. of Wood's *Antiquities and Annals*, vol. i, Bk. I, p. 496.

[3] William Thomson, *An Open College Best for All*, 1854.

[4] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report II, 1870, p. 141.

[5] J. J. Rogers, *J. of R. I. C.*, No. 11, April 1870, p. 147.

[6] Boase and Courtney, *Bibl. Cornub.*, vol. ii, p. 798.

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in 1387,[1] and when he finished his *Bartholomaeus* in 1398.[1] His death took place there in 1402.[2] We have no evidence as to when he was appointed Vicar of Berkeley. If the Berkeley MS., *Lives of the Berkeleys*, is correct, he was there as early as 1357, and had completed his most important translation at this early date.[3] The only information of his life at Berkeley, beside the above date, is to be found in the *Lives of the Berkeleys* (from the Berkeley MSS.) from 1066–1618, by John Smyth of Nibley, edited by Sir John MacLean, 3 vols., 1883. A very careful examination of recent date of the Bishops' Registers (unprinted) of the diocese of Worcester, 1350–1420, gives us no information concerning Trevisa except the date of his death.

Trevisa was Vicar at Berkeley under three of the Lords, viz. Thomas III, eighth lord, born 1293, ruled 1326–61; Maurice IV, his son, 1361–8; and Thomas IV (grandson of Thomas III), born 1353, held sway 1368–1417.[4] The first entry concerning Trevisa in Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys* is in the life of Thomas III, and reads thus:

'And pardon mee, oh my God, in my overflowing affection to this Lord Thomas, if I break out in prayer before thee, to remember the dust of this thy honorable servant, resting in Berkeley Church, in the travells and pious ways wherein hee walked, and forget not (lord) thy doctrine taught him by thy learned servant his Chaplen, John Trevisa, vicar of the same church, whose bones rest there alsoe.'[5]

A few pages later, we find that he was at Berkeley a short time before 1361. 'In the later days of this lord Thomas flourished John Trevisa, a gen^t^. of an antient family bearing gules, a garbe *or*, born at Crocadon in Cornwall, a secular preist and vicar of Berkeley; who translated the Bible, etc.'[6]

[1] See closing words of these works, pp. lxxxiv and lxxxviii.

[2] See p. lxxv for Register's entry.

[3] See p. lxxxiv for discussion of dates 1357 and 1387. Smyth has him Vicar of Berkeley in 1351 (*Lives of Berkeleys*, vol. i, p. 19). Rev. J. H. Bloom, Vicar of Whitchurch, Stratford-on-Avon, who examined the Bishops' Registers of Worcester for me, writes Feb. 12, 1915, that, in 1360, 'one Master David was Vicar of Berkeley'. Bishops' Reg. Bryan I. 108 d.

[4] Sir John MacLean, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, by John Smyth, 3 vols., 1883, vol. i, pp. 279–361; G. F. Clark, 'Berkeley Castle', in *Bristol and Gloucester Trans.*, 1876, p. 115.

[5] MacLean, ibid., vol. i, p. 338.

[6] Ibid., p. 348.

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He speaks of him dedicating the Bible and *Polychronicon* to this lord, and *Bartholomaeus* and other treatises to this lord's son and grandson.

(*a*) *Canon at Westbury Collegiate Church.*

Boase says he was 'canon of Westbury, near Bristol'.[1] Boase and Courtney that he was 'Canon of Collegiate Church of Westbury on Severn or Gloucestershire (or, according to another account, of Westbury in Wiltshire)'.[2] Cooke states: 'Wickliff was appointed in 1374 to the crown living of Lutterworth; he also held the prebend of Aust in the Collegiate Church of Westbury-on-Trym in Gloucester, of which church Trevisa was likewise a Canon.'[3] Miss Greenwood: 'He also, like Wyclif, held a non-resident canonry of the Collegiate Church of Westbury-on-Trym.'[4] H. J. Wilkins: 'In 1387 John Trevisa, who was one of the fathers of English prose, became a canon, and held it till he died in 1412.'[5] C. L. Kingsford, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, writes: 'He was also a canon of Westbury-on-Severn.'[6] Tanner, quoting Dugdale: 'Canonicus ecclesiae collegiate de Westbury in comit Wilts sive Gloucest.'[7] Dugdale: 'A cannon of the Collegiate Church of Westbury in Com. Wilts,' and gives the important reference Rot. Franc., 14 R. 2, M. 10.[8] Babington says: 'Canon of the Collegiate Church of Westbury on Severn in Gloucestershire, or, according to Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. ii, p. 360, of Westbury in Wiltshire.'[9]

These writers have noticed three different Westburys:

1. Westbury, Comit. Wilts., in the diocese of Salisbury.
2. Westbury-on-Severn, now having a population of 2,000, post town Newnham, in the Archdeaconry of Hereford, in the diocese of Gloucester, and formerly with the church in the patronage of Vicar's Choral of Hereford.

[1] Boase, op. cit., p. 11.
[2] Op. cit., p. 798.
[3] Op. cit., p. 138
[4] Miss Alice Greenwood, *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. ii, pp. 80–100.
[5] Rev. H. J. Wilkins, *Some Chapters in the Eccl. Hist. of Westbury-on-Trym*, Bristol, 1909, p. 96.
[6] C. L. Kingsford, article on Trevisa, vol. lvii.
[7] Op. cit., p. 720.
[8] Wm. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 1675–6, 3 vols., vol. i, p. 360. Rot. Franc., 14 R. etc. is now catalogued at Record Office as Treaty Roll, No. 75 (see next page).
[9] Higden's *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), vol. i, p. liv (note).

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3. Westbury-on-Trym (or Trim), with a population of 10,000, near Bristol, in the Archdeaconry of Gloucester, now of the diocese of Bristol and formerly of Gloucester, and before the sixteenth century in the diocese of Worcester.

Trevisa was canon of a collegiate church at Westbury in 1390–1. The Treaty Rolls, 14 Rich. II, m. 10 (now catalogued in the Record Office as Treaty Roll No. 75) referred to by Dugdale, has this entry:

'Magister Johannes Trevysa vicarius ecclesie de Berkele et canonicus ecclesie collegiate de Westbury (qui de licencia Regis ad partes transmarinas profecturus est habet literas Regis de generali attornatu) sub nominibus Magistri Roberti de Hodersale clerici et Magistri Williami de Faryngton, clerici. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium quinto de Novembris.

'Robertus de Faryngton, clericus, recepit attornatum usque redditum predicti Johannis in Anglia.'

It is not clear why Dugdale, from this evidence, makes Trevisa 'a cannon of the Collegiate Church of Westbury in Com. Wilts.' Nor is it clear why Tanner, quoting from Dugdale, makes him 'canonicus ecclesiae collegiate de Westbury in Comit. Wilts sive Glocest.' No evidence has thus far come to hand showing at which Westbury he was canon. The Treaty Roll states that he was 'canon of the collegiate church at Westbury'. The Episcopal Bishops' Registers of Worcester (1350–1420), recently examined, make no mention of his canonry, in either Westbury-on-Severn or Westbury-on-Trym.

Which of these Westburys had a Collegiate Church in the last part of the fourteenth century? As will be seen from the following, Westbury-on-Trym seems to have been the Collegiate Church. There is no evidence whatever in favour of the Wiltshire Westbury, or the Westbury-on-Severn.

Westbury, Wilts., was never a Collegiate Church. At an early date the Westbury Rectory was assigned to the Precentorship of Sarum, and was exempt from supervision of an Archdeacon. A copy of the original endowment of the vicarage of Westbury is in the Bishop's Palace at Salisbury,

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A.D. 1377, 1 Rich. II.[1] Phillips, in his *Institutions of Wiltshire*, A.D. 1297–1810, has but one reference to Westbury, in a foot-note as to a Vicar there at the Restoration. Hoare[2] mentions only two appointments of clergy there in our period, viz.:

1342. Rector, Richard de Anesy, Vicar, Nic. Fitzwaren.
1377. Rector, Robt. de Walton, Vicar, W. Nisbe.

No mention is made of Westbury, in Wiltshire, having a Collegiate Church in either the Patent or Close Rolls, nor in the Papal Letters or Papal Petitions of our period, where so often we find references to the Collegiate Church of Westbury. Where Westbury in Wiltshire is mentioned in these registers it is in connexion with land or property.[3]

Again, there appears to be no evidence that Westbury-on-Severn had a Collegiate Church. References in the Patent and Close Rolls are always to a transfer of land or a reference to property of some nature. In Patent Rolls, 11 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 28, July 12, 1387, Thos. Bellying, Vicar of Westbury (on Severn), Co. Glouc., holds certain lands.[4] In Patent Rolls, 11 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 7, June 12, 1388, a certain transfer of lands in the parish of Westbury (on Severn, Co. Glouc.[5]). Also Pat. Rolls, 18 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 10, June 4, 1395, the church of Wesebury (on Severn, Co. Glouc.) is spoken of in connexion with a land transaction.[6] In Patent Rolls, 19 Rich. II, m. 36, Nov. 28, 1395, six acres of land in Wesebury and the advowson of Wesebury, not held in chief, were granted to the Warden of the College of Vicars and the vicars in the choir of the Cathedral Church of Hereford, in aid of their support, and in augmentation of divine service there, &c.[7]

This Westbury is spoken of as being by Newenham, in connexion with a charter of John Billyng, giving with

[1] Sir L. C. Hoare's *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. iii, p. 19.

[2] Ibid., vol. ii.

[3] Pat. Rolls, 2 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 26; Pat. Rolls, 3 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 45; Pat. Rolls, 12 Rich. II, m. 27 (1385–9, p. 6); Pat. Rolls, 17 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 8 (1391–6, p. 417); Pat. Rolls, 20 Rich. II, pt. iii, m. 21 (1391–6, p. 126); *Papal Letters*, vol. i, 1209.

[4] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, Rich. II, 1385–9, p. 341.

[5] Ibid., p. 454.

[6] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1391–6, p. 574.

[7] Ibid., p. 661.

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warranty an acre of land to the Bishop of Hereford (Close Rolls, 43 Edward III, m. 21d, June 5, 1369).[1]

Among the Papal Petitions, 1343, 1 Clement VI, we find that Richard Talbot, Baron, had founded an Augustinian priory in his lordship of Flanesford, in the diocese of Hereford, with a church and divers offices for a prior and several canons, with sanction of the Bishop and Chapter; that the Prior and convent of Flannesford may be more independent, they pray that the parish church of Westbury (district not specified), value not exceeding £20, and served by a vicar, may be granted to their uses; possession of the same being taken on death of present rector, the diocesan's permission not being requested (Avignon, 4 Kal. May, 1343).[2] The 'Church of Westbury by Gloucester on Severn' was appropriated as per this request, by command of the Pope, at Avignon, 8 Id. Aug. 1347[3] (6 Innocent VI). The few other references to this Westbury, in the Patent and Close Rolls, or in the Papal Registers, are to lands, property, &c. No reference anywhere is there to a Collegiate Church.

The facts in regard to Westbury-on-Trym are as follows: As early as 883 King Oswald placed monks there.[4] As early as 1257 there seem to have been prebends there, for in 3 Alexander IV, 1257, 6 Kal. July, a mandate was issued to induct Master Gregory of Naples into possession of the prebend in the church of Wisbere, in the diocese of Worcester.[5] In 1288[6] Godfrey Gifford made his first effort to join the churches of his manors to the prebends of Westbury. This was opposed by a Papal Bull in 1288.[6] The Bishop received the royal assent and in 1290[6] installed three persons as prebends. Dugdale gives the date 1288 as the founding of the College for a dean and canons by Godfrey Gifford, Bishop of Worcester, dedicated to the Holy Trinity.[7] It seems that in 1095 Sampson, Bishop of Worcester, placed canons there in place of the Benedictine

[1] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1369–74, p. 89.
[2] *Cal. of Papal Petitions*, vol. ii, p. 16.
[3] Ibid., vol. xxix, p. 336.
[4] *Annales Monastici*, vol. iv, p. 369.
[5] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. xxv, p. 346.
[6] *Annales Monastici*, vol. iv, pp. 496, 498, 500, 502, 504.
[7] *Monasticon*, 1846, vol. vi (Tom. VIII), p. 1439.

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monks, placed there by Bishop Oswald in 928.[1] It appears that there were five canonries, with prebends, at the time of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291. The College was more fully endowed by J. Carpenter in 1464, who sometimes styled himself Bishop of Westbury. He died and was buried at Westbury in 1476.[2] Tanner gives in an appendix to *Notitia Monastica* a list of deans but not of canons. This College of the Holy Trinity, founded in 1288, with a Dean and five Canons, in the patronage of the Popes of Worcester, is said by Tanner to have been at Westbury on Trim, or Trymme, in the County of Gloucester.[3] In *Beauties of England and Wales* we have the following:

'Westbury-on-Trim is a small neat village, chiefly consisting of respectable residences belonging to the merchants and traders of Bristol. Here was a College for a Dean and five Canons, generally said to have been founded by Bishop Carpenter, but more truly by the famous, though eccentric, William Cungrys of Bristol, who became the first Dean. The building was entire till the time of Charles I, when Prince Rupert ordered it to be destroyed, lest it should afford shelter to the Parliament's troops in annoyance to the garrison of Bristol; the remains are now incorporated in a genteel mansion, the property of John Hobhouse, Esq.'[4]

The Collegiate Church of Westbury mentioned in *Valor Ecclesiasticus* is Westbury-on-Trym. It speaks of it at that date (1334–5) as being a well-endowed College in diocese Gloster, but Antea Wigorn.[5]

I close this discussion by giving a number of references in the Patent Rolls, and also in the Papal Letters and Petitions, all referring to the Collegiate Church of Westbury-on-Trym, in regard to its canons or prebends.

Calendar: Patent Rolls:

23 Edward III, m. 29, Sept. 28, 1349 (1348–50, p. 29).
24 ,, pt. i, m. 36, Jan. 30, 1350 (1348–50, p. 466).
49 ,, pt. ii, m. 11.

[1] Rev. C. S. Taylor, 'The Church Monastery of Westbury-on-Trym', 1897 (*Proceedings of Clifton Antiquarian Club*, 1897–9, pp. 20–42).

[2] Leland's *Itinerary*, 1910, vol. v, p. 227.

[3] *Notitia Monastica*, 1744, p. 142.

[4] E. W. Brayley and J. Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. v, p. 729.

[5] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1524–5, vol. ii, pp. 432–5, 474.

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7 Richard II, pt. ii, m. 6, May 31, 1384 (1381–5, p. 408).
10 ,, pt. i, m. 35, Aug. 1, 1386 (1385–9, p. 200).
11 ,, pt. i, m. 14, Sept. 28, 1387 (1385–9, p. 361).
12 ,, pt. ii, m. 20, Feb. 26, 1389 (1385–9, p. 18).
12 ,, pt. i, m. 35, July 6, 1388 (1385–9, p. 542).
13 ,, pt. i, m. 27, July 8, 1389 (1389–92, p. 88).
14 ,, pt. i, m. 22, Sept. 16, 1390 (1388–92, p. 308).
14 ,, pt. ii, m. 41, Jan. 12, 1391 (1388–92, p. 368).
15 ,, pt. i, m. 25, Sept. 14, 1391 (1388–92, p. 476).
18 ,, pt. i, m. 10, Sept. 27, 1394 (1391–6, p. 503).
18 ,, pt. ii, m. 19, Apr. 6, 1395 (1391–6, p. 559).
18 ,, pt. ii, m. 18 d, Apr. 28, 1395 (1391–6, p. 590).
18 ,, pt. ii, m. 5, June 10, 1395 (1391–6, p. 581).
3 Henry IV, pt. ii, m. 2, Sept. 17, 1402 (1401–5, p. 121).
4 ,, pt. i, m. 27, Oct. 14, 1402 (1401–5, p. 157).
5 ,, pt. i, m. 32, Feb. 18, 1403 (1401–5, p. 305).

There may be other references that I have missed, but this will suffice. The Collegiate Church of Westbury-on-Trym, Co. Gloucester, diocese of Worcester, was an important church during the last half of the fourteenth century, having a dean, canons, and prebends in its jurisdiction. The Papal Petitions of this period often mention it. A few of these will be noted:

1 Clement VI, 1342, *Cal. of Papal Registers—Petitions*, 1342–1419, vol. i, p. 4.
1 ,, 1342, Ibid., vol. i, p. 10.
4 ,, 16 Aug. 1345, Ibid., vol. ix, p. 79.
7 ,, 1349, Ibid., vol. xvii, p. 148.
8 ,, 6 id. Oct. 1349, Ibid., vol. xix, p. 177.
9 ,, non. June, 1350, Ibid., vol. xx, p. 199.
9 ,, id. Aug. 1350, Ibid., vol. xx, pp. 202–3.
2 Innocent VI, 1354, Ibid., vol. xxv, pp. 263–4.
2 ,, 3 id. Dec. 1354, Ibid., vol. xxv, p. 268.
2 ,, 9 Kal. Feb. 1355, Ibid., vol. xxvi, p. 279.
5 ,, 6 Kal. May, 1357, Ibid., vol. xxvii, pp. 294–5.
1 Urban V, 5 Kal. Mar., 1363, Ibid., vol. xxxvi, p. 407.
10 Clement VII, 12 Kal. Apr. 1389, Ibid., vol. lxix, p. 571.

These all refer to canonries and prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of Westbury-on-Trym. The nature of the entries can easily be found by referring to the *Calendar of Papal Registers—Petitions* for 1342–1419, contained in one volume; Index, p. 750.

Many references may be found to this college and church in Papal Letters (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, 9 vols.).

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In vol. i, p. 603, Boniface VIII, in his first year (non. Aug. 1303), grants dispensation to Peter de Laicestria to hold canonries and prebends of Lichfield, Westbiri (Gloc.), and Warwick.

Vol. ii (1305–42) mentions it a number of times, but the compilers of the index simply speak of it as Westbury (Co. Gloucester). The references have to do with the appointments of the Canons and Prebends, and no mention is made of a Collegiate Church. This doubtless, however, is the same church, Westbury-on-Trym. Some of these are:

3 Clement V, 5 Kal. Aug., 1308, vol. ii (LV), p. 42. Grant of Canonry of Westbury in dio. of Worcester to Wm. de Melton.
4 ,, 12 Kal. June, 1309, vol. ii (LVI), p. 53. Grant of Canonry and Preb. of Westbury to Wm. de Briston.
9 ,, 8 id. June, 1314, vol. ii (LXI), p. 121.
1 John XXII, 5 id. Apr., 1317, vol. ii (LXV), p. 148.
3 ,, 6 Kal. May, 1319, vol. ii (LXIX), p. 185.
14 ,, 4 id. Mar., 1330, vol. ii (XCV), p. 316.
15 ,, 18 Kal. Feb., 1331, vol. ii (XCVII), p. 332.
18 ,, 3 id. Mar., 1334, vol. ii (CVI), p. 399.
In 13 John XXII, 11 Kal. Nov., 1329, vol. ii (LXXXIX), p. 285, the only mention of a Collegiate Church at Westbury occurs.

In the second volume of *Papal Letters* (1342–62) Westbury-on-Trym is mentioned often, and so indicated in the index.

In vol. iv (1362–1404) we find the entry concerning Wiclif. This is in 3 Greg. XI, 7 Kal. Jan., 1373 (p. 193). Provision to John Wiclif, Canon of Lincoln, Master of Theology, granted to him, who holds also the church of Lugdgersale in the diocese of Lincoln, to retain even after getting possession of a canonry and prebend, under a provision lately made to him by the Pope of a canonry of Lincoln reservation of a prebend—his canonry and prebend of (Aust in) Westbury, in the diocese of Worcester, &c.

In vol. vii, p. 322 (1417–31), during the rule of Martin V, 1422, a grant to John Powle, Dean of Holy Trinity, Westbury, in the diocese of Worcester. As late as 1438–9 mention is made of the Dean of Holy Trinity, Westburi, in diocese of Worcester (vol. ix, 1431–47), p. 59.

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(*b*) *Date of his Death.*

Trevisa was at Berkeley during the last days of the third Thomas, 8th Lord of Berkeley, who died in 1361.[1] The 9th Lord, Maurice IV, died in 1368. The greater part of Trevisa's life as Vicar of Berkeley was spent in the service of the 10th Lord of Berkeley, Thomas V, born 1353, died 1417. To this lord he dedicated his translation of the *Polychronicon*, in 1387, in the following words: 'This translacioun is y-ended in a Thursday eyȝtẽþe day of Aueryl, the ȝere of our Lord a þowsand þre hundred foure score and seuene: þe tenþe ȝere of Kyng Richard þe secounde after þe conquest of Engelonde: þe ȝere of my lordes age Sire Thomas lorde of Berkeley, þat made me make þis translacioun, fyue and þritty.'[2] Also his translation of Bartholomaeus, *De Proprietatibus Rebus*, in 1398, in the following words: 'Endless grace, blisse and thankinge to our lord God Alweldinge, these translations ended at Berkeley the sixth day of February the year of our lord 1398, the year of King Richard the second after the conquest of England the 22nd. The year of my lords age Sir Thomas lord of Berkeley that made me make this translation, the 47th.'[3]

MacLean gives the date of Trevisa's death as 1412, basing his statement on Register Wigorn.: 'This Trevisa dyed the 13th year of King Henry the fourth, when John Bone John succeeded in that vicarage, whom this lord made one of his Executors, and proved a false priest to the heir male of his said lord as after I shall touch.'[4]

Henry Wharton, the seventeenth-century antiquarian and collector, gives the same date. His note preserved for us in Codices Whartoniani is a part of the MS. Lambeth 585, p. 637, in Lambeth Palace. The reference is as follows: 'Trevisa obit. 13 H. 4. et successorem habuit in Vicaria Johan. Bone-John. Ex. Regro. Wigorn.' Following this record, Tanner, Townley, Babington, Rogers, Boase and Courtney, Cooke, Jeayes, Boase, and Kingsford

[1] MacLean, op. cit., vol. i, p. 343. But see reference to Bloom's search (above, p. lxvi).

[2] This is taken from Add. 24194.

[3] This is quoted from MacLean, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 22.

[4] MacLean, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 22.

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all place his death in 1412. Fuller has 'about 1400'. Gilbert either 1399 or 1410. Atkyns[1] gives his death in 1409.

The date of his death has been settled by the discovery of the entry, dealing with the appointment of his successor to the Berkeley Vicarage. The entry is found under the date, 1402, in vol. xvii, memb. 14 d, in the unprinted Bishops' Register of the diocese of Worcester,[2] during the bishopric of R. Clifford, 1401–7. These registers are preserved in Worcester Cathedral. The entry is as follows:

'1402 Berkelegh Vicaria—Vicesimo primo die dicte mensis Maii dictus Vicarius in spiritualibus apud London ad vicariam ecclesie parochialis de Berkelegh Wygornensis diocesie per mortem magistri Johannis Trevisa ultimum vicarium ejusdem vacantum; dominum Johannem Bonjon Presbyterum ad presentationem Religiosorum virorum Abbatis et Conventus Monasterii Sancti Augustini juxta Bristoll admisit ad vicarium perpetuum de corporaliter inibi residendo iuxta formam constitutionem dominorum Othonis et Ottoboni quondam sedis apostolici in Anglia legatorum in hac parte editarum iuratum instituit canonicum in eadem cum suis iuribus et pertinentiis universis. Quibus die et loco dictus dominus Iohannes iuravit obedi*entia*m domino et habuit litteras institutionis ac mandatum ad inducendum directe Archidiaconus Gloucestrensis ut est moris.' *Reg. Clifford*, 14 d.

B. Trevisa's Works.

Lists of Trevisa's works are given by Bale, Pits, Tanner, Babington, Rogers, and Miss Greenwood.

Bale gives the following:

1.	Utrumque Testamentum.	Lib. 2.
2.	Bartholomaeum de Proprietatibus.	Lib. 19.
3.	Ranulphi Polychronicon.	Lib. 7.
4.	De sua translatione dialogum.	Lib. 1.
5.	Continuationes Polychronici.	Lib. 1.
6.	Gesta regis Arthuri.	Lib. 1.
7.	Britanniae descriptionem.	Lib. 1.
8.	Hyberniae descriptionem.	Lib. 1.
9.	De Memorabilibus eorum temporum et alia plura fecit et transtulit.	Lib. 1.

[1] Atkyns, *History of Gloucestershire.*

[2] These registers, from 1350–1420, were examined for me by the Rev. J. Harvey Bloom, Whitchurch, Stratford-on-Avon. The above entry was communicated to me in a letter under date of 12 Feb., 1915. No other reference to Trevisa appears in the Registers.

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Pits gives the same list:

1. Sacra Biblia, Libros duos.
2. Ranulphi Polychronicon, Libros septem.
3. Dialogus translatione. librum unum.
4. Polychronici continuationes.—librum unum.
5. Bartholomaeus de proprietatibus rerum—libros, novem decem.
6. De memorabilibus temporum. Librum unum.
7. Gesta Regis Arthuri. ,, ,,
8. Descriptionem Britanniae. ,, ,,
9. Descriptionem Hiberniae ,, ,,

et alia nonnulla.

In addition to the above Tanner mentions the following:

1. De calore thermarum Bathoniensium.
2. Genealogia Davidis regis Scotiae.[1]
3. Richardi Armachani defensorium curatorum.[2]
4. Vegetii de re militari.
5. Aegidii Romani de regimine principum.

Babington, in the Introduction (pp. liii ff.) to his edition of *Polychronicon* in the Rolls Series, mentions the works of Trevisa, taking them from Tanner's bibliography and Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*. He includes in his list, in addition to those mentioned by Bale and Tanner, two new works, both mentioned by Dibdin, viz. (1) *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*, Trevisa's translation from the Latin of Wm. Occam, and (2) Methodius's tract, *On the Beginning and End of the World*. Dibdin in mentioning these works is describing the Harleian MS. 1900. In describing the *Dialogue* he makes the same mistake as does the compiler of the Catalogue of Harleian MSS., viz. that the dialogue between the soldier and the clergyman was between Lord Berkeley and the author Trevisa.

Rogers, in his article in the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 1870, includes all the above in his list. He lists the following as: I. Original writings: (1) *De Calore Thermarum Bathoniensum*, (2) *De utilitate translationum, dialogus inter patronum et clericum*, (3) *Gesta Regis Arthuri*, (4) *Britanniae descriptio*, (5) *Hiberniae descriptio*, (6) *De Memorabilibus temporum*,

[1] Tanner says: 'Haec MS. citatus ab Usser.' *Dogmatica Historica*, p. 123.

[2] Tanner refers to this: 'In codem libro (*Dog. Hist.*, p. 480), Whartonus adnotat Iohannem Trevisam transtulisse in linguam Anglicanam. . . .'

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(7) *Genealogia Davidis Regis Scotiae.* II. Translations into English: (1) *Polychronicon*, (2) Bartholomaeus, *De Proprietatibus rerum*, (3) Ricardi Armachani, *defensorium curatorum*, (4) Vegetii, *de re Militari*, (5) Aegidii Romani, *de regimine Principum*, (6) Gulielmi Occam, *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*, (7) Methodius, *On the beginning and end of the world.*

In an article in the same *Journal*, on Trevisa, in 1874, Rogers mentions as a translation the 'Nicodemus treatise on the passion of Christ'.

Miss Greenwood is more cautious in listing Trevisa material. She omits all the original works listed by Rogers, and questions *de re Militari* and *de Regimine Principum.*

I. Translations

(1) The Polychronicon.

The Manuscripts.

This was a most popular medieval history written in Latin by Ranulf Higden, a monk of St. Werburgh's, Chester, about 1350. 'The Latin MSS.', says Mr. Babington,[1] 'are prodigiously numerous, and amount in all, I believe, to a number considerably greater than one hundred.' Mr. Macray (p. 39), in *Manual of British Historians*, mentions upwards of seventy, and says, 'There are MSS. in nearly all the libraries in England'. Trevisa translated the *Polychronicon* in the fourteenth century. This translation is preserved in the following MSS.: Cotton Tiberius D. VII; Harleian 1900; Brit. Mus. Additional 24194; St. John's College, Cambridge, H. 1; Burleigh House; Chetham's College Library, Manchester; Stowe 65 in British Museum.[2] In addition, two others have been mentioned: (1) that in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, mentioned briefly in the third report of the Historical MSS. Commission, 1872, p. 424, by John Stuart on 'MSS. in Glasgow University'. The brief notice there is: 'Higden's Polychronicon by Trevisa. Folio. vellum.' It is noticed by Mr. Lumby, vol. v, p. xliv, of the Rolls Series. For a full description see Catalogue of MSS. in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow, by Young and Aitkin, 1908, No. 83, p. 88. It is

[1] Op. cit., vol. i, p. xlii. [2] Described pp. xv ff.

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fifteenth century, written on paper 11-3/8 × 8-5/8, ff. 148, originally 166. Contents given as Trevisa's Chronicle. On Verso II, 1, in Dr. Wm. Hunter's hand: 'Fructus Temporum or Croniclis of Englonde; which were afterward printed by Caxton.' (2) Another MS. attributed to Trevisa is in Trinity College, Dublin.[1] The brief notice in Historical MSS. Commission Report, No. IV, p. 598, is 'History of Britain by Trevisa, 4to vellum. Imperfect.' In the Catalogue the description is brief. It is numbered 506, E. 54, fol. parchment, 8-8/10 × 6-9/10, writing 6-4/10 × 4-5/10, 15 cent., 94 leaves, defective, begins in Chap. 17, ends Chap. 127, under 4th year of Henry IV. In answer to an inquiry, Mr. Alfred de Burgh, Assistant Librarian, wrote me under date of Jan. 1, 1915, that the Librarian, Dr. J. Gilbart Smyly, had examined the MS. afresh, and found that it did not correspond with Trevisa's version. Dr. Smyly also compared the MS. with other chronicles, and found the closest resemblance in an anonymous Chronicle from a Lambeth MS. edited by James Gairdner in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Society, 1880. There was much similarity in the names of persons, and sometimes a close correspondence of phrases, but the Dublin MS. was, on the whole, considerably fuller. In a letter dated Jan. 5, 1915, Mr. de Burgh has this further bit of information: 'The Chronicle covers the same ground at about the same length, with omissions and additions, as *The Brut or The Chronicle of England*, ed. by F. W. D. Brie (E. E. T. S., 1906, 1908, pts. 1, 2). The proper names in the mythical period are not in the same form.' Brie used Dublin MSS. 490, 500, 501, but Mr. de Burgh is not sure whether he was familiar with 506.

The Printed Editions (*English*).

I. *1482, printed by Wm. Caxton.*

Caxton finished his *Polychronicon* July 2, 1482. He altered Trevisa's English, as will be seen from his proheme. He prefaced it by Trevisa's dialogue between himself and his patron, by his epistle to Lord Berkeley, and a table of contents

[1] Noted by Boase and Courtney, *Bibl. Cornub.*, vol. ii, pp. 798 ff.

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covering 17 leaves. A part of Caxton's proheme is here given:[1]

'And that other book is named Polychronycon in whiche book ben comprised briefly many wonderful historyees. Fyrst the descripcion of the vniuersal world as well in lengthe as in brede with the diuisions of countrees royaumes and empyres the noble cytees hye mountaynes famous ryuers merueylles & wondres, & also the historical Actes & Wonderful dedes syth the fyrst makyng of heuen & erth vnto the begynnyng of the regne of Kyng edward the fourth, & vnto the yere of our lord MCCCCLX. As by thayde of almyghty god shal folowe al a longe after the composynge & gaderynge of dan Ranulph Monke of Chestre fyrste auctour of this book, and afterward englisshed by one Treuisa vycarye of barkley which atte request of one Sir thomas lord barkley translated this sayd book the byble & bartylmew de proprietatibus rerum out of latyn into englyssh. And now at this tyme symply emprynted & sette in forme by me William Caxton and a lytel embelysshed fro tholde makyng, and also haue added suche storyes as I coude fro thende that the said Ranulph fynysshed his book which was the yere of our lord MCCCLVII vnto the yere of the same MCCCCLX, whiche ben an hundred & thre yere whiche werke I haue finysshed vnder the noble protection of my most drad natural and souerayne lord and moost cristen Kynge Kyng Edward the fourth humbly besechyng his moost nobile grace to pardone me yf ony thynge be sayd therynne of Ignoraunce or other wyse than it ought to be. . . .'

The Latin *Polychronicon* as well as Trevisa's translation contain seven books, carrying the events down to 1357. From the above it will be seen that Caxton, in an eighth book, carried on the history to 1460. At the end of 'Liber Septimus' Caxton has the following colophon:[2]

'God be thanked of al his dedes. This translacion is ended on a thursdaye the eyghtenthe daye of Apryll the yere of our lord a thousand thre honderd and LVII, the XXXI yere of kyng Edward the thyrd after the Conquest of England, the yere of my lordes age Syr thomas lord of berkley that made me make this translacion fyue and thyrtty.'

At the end of 'Liber Septimus' Caxton places his epilogue.

[1] W. Blades, *Life and Typography of Caxton*, 2 vols., 1861–3, vol. i, p. 194.

[2] Blades, *Life of Caxton*, vol. i, p. 194. Also Rolls Series, vol. viii, p. 352; Ames, *Typ. Antiq.*, ed. Dibdin, vol. i, p. 143.

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Then he writes 'Liber Ultimus', carrying the history from 1357 to 1460. His epilogue or apology is as follows:[1]

'Thus endeth the book named Proloconycon made & compiled by Ranulph monk of chestre whiche ordeyned it in latyn & atte request of the ryght worshipful lord Thomas lord of berkeley it was translated in to englisshe by one Treuisa thenne vycarye of the Paryssh of barkley: and for as moche as syth the accomplysshemente of this sayd booke made by the sayd Ranulph ended the yere of oure lord MCCCLVII many thynges haue fallen whiche ben requysyte to be added to this werke by cause mennes wyttes in this tyme ben oblyuyous and lyghtly forgeten many thyngys dygne to be putte in memorye and also there can not be founden in these dayes but fewe that wryte in theyr regystres suche thynges as dayly happen and falle: therfore I, William Caxton, a simple persone haue endeuoyred me to wryte fyrst ouer all the sayd book of proloconycon and som what haue chaunged the rude and old englyssh that is to wete certayn wordes which in these dayes be neither vsyd ne vnderstanden & furthermore haue put it in emprynte to thende that it maye be had & the maters therin comprised to be knowen for the boke is general touchyng shortly many notable maters & also am auysed to make another booke after this sayd werke whiche shal be sett here after the same And shal haue his chapytres & his table a parte For I dar not presume to sette my booke ne ioyne hit to his for dyuerse causes one is for as moche as I haue not ne can gete no bokes of auctoryte treatyng of suche cronykes except a lytel boke named fasciculus temporum and another callyde Aureus de Vniuerso in whiche bookes I fynde ryght lytel mater syth the sayde tyme § And another cause is for as moche as my rude sympleness and ignorant makyng ought not to be compared set ne ioyned to his boke Thenne I shal by the grace of god set my werke after a parte for to accomplysshe the yeres syth that he fynysshed his book vnto the yere of our lord MCCCClx and the fyrst yere of the Regne of Kyng edward the fourthe whiche amounte to an honderd and thre yere.'

II. 1495. *Printed by Wynkyn de Worde.*

The following notice appears in Dibdin,[2] as No. 90: 'Polycronycon: ended the thyrtenth daye of Apryll, the tenth yere of the regne of kynge Harry the seuenth, And of the

[1] See Blades, vol. i, p. 194; Dibdin's Ames, *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, pp. 147, 148.

[2] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 49.

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Incarnacyon of our Lord MCCCCLXXXXV. Enprynted by Wynkyn Theworde, at Westmestre, Folio.' Boase and Courtney[1] give this notice :—'Polycronycon. (Made and compyled by Ranulph, Monke of Chestre . . . in Latyn and . . . translated into Englysshe by (J.) Trevisa.) In seuen books, "the rude and olde englissh somewhat chaunged," by W. Caxton and an eighth book containing a continuation from 1357 to 1460 added by him. Edited by Wynkyn The worde 1495, fol.'

de Worde used Caxton's edition,[2] and even his proheme, except he substitutes his own name for that of the modernizer, and instead of mentioning the continuation of the history to 1460, de Worde promises to continue it to 'Henry ye Seuenth ye yere of his regne & vnto the yere of our lord MCCCCLXXXV, which ben an C & XXXVIII yere, which werke (says he) I haue fynyshed vnder the noble protecyon of my moost drad naturall and souerayne lorde & most crysten Kynge, Kynge Henry the seuenth.' The work, however, was not continued any further by W. de Worde. He closes with Caxton's colophon and conclusion as given above.

III. 1527. *Printed by Peter Treveris.*

This is a reimpression of de Worde's edition. Dibdin[3] gives a full description of it under No. 751, and says, 'the title-page is perhaps the most magnificent title-page of which the early annals of English printing can boast'. The following imprint is found on a separate leaf at the end: 'Imprented in Southwerke by me Peter Treveris at ye expences of John Reynes boke seller at the sygne of Saynt George in Poules Chyrchyarde, the yere of our lorde god MCCCCC and XXVII, the XVI daye of Maye.' The following notice is given by Boase and Courtney:—'Polycronycon (translated intoo Englyshe by (J.) Trevisa). (In seven books, "the rude and olde Englysshe somewhat chaunged," and an eighth book containing a continuation from 1357 to 1460 added by Wm. Caxton.) Peter Treveris, Imprinted in Southwerk, fol.'[4]

[1] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 798.
[2] Ames, vol. i, p. 138.
[3] Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 40. It is also described in *Brit. Bibl.*, vol. iii, p. 349.
[4] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 798.

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IV. *The Rolls Series*, 1865–86. 9 vols.

Vols. i and ii and introduction by Churchill Babington; vols. iii–ix by J. R. Lumby. The editors print the MS. in St. John's College, Camb. H. 1, and collate with it Caxton's edition and MS. Add. 24194. Beginning with vol. ii, they make some use in collation of MSS. Harl. 1900 and Cotton Tib. D. VII.[1] As noted above, p. xv, a selection from Harl. 1900 is printed in Appendix, vol. vii. Babington and Lumby, in addition to the Latin text, print a fifteenth-century MS., viz. Harl. 2261. It is different from the translation of Trevisa, and continues the history to 1401.[2]

Extracts from the *Polychronicon* have been printed and may be found as follows:

1. *Specimens of Early English*: Morris and Skeat, Part II, 1889, pp. 235–47.

(A) Description of Britain. Lib. I, cap. 41 and 42, vol. ii, pp. 13–31 of Rolls Series.
(B) De Incolarum Linguis. Lib. I, cap. 59, vol. ii, pp. 157–63 of Rolls Series.
(C) The Norman Invasion. Lib. VI, cap. 29, vol. vii, pp. 233–45 of Rolls Series.

These extracts are taken from MS. Cotton Tiberius D. VII, leaf 38, back. The Editors omit the name Trevisa, usually found before his additions. See notes, however, p. 344.

2. *A Middle English Reader*: O. F. Emerson, 1905, rev. ed., 1921, pp. 220–5.

(A) The Inhabitants of Britain. Bk. I, chap. 58, vol. ii, pp. 143–57 of Rolls Series.
(B) The Languages of the Inhabitants. Bk. I, chap. 59, vol. ii, pp. 157–63 of Rolls Series.

This is taken from MS. Cotton Tiberius D. VII. The editor omits the name Trevisa, but indicates the omission in a footnote.

[1] Miss Greenwood (*Camb. Hist. of English Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 444) states that the MS. at Burleigh House was used. I have not been able to ascertain that this is correct. There is no mention of the Burleigh House MS. by Babington and Lumby.

[2] *Cat. of Harl. MSS.*, vol. ii, p. 596.

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3. *Altenglische Sprachproben*: Eduard Mätzner, 1867, vol. i, pt. 2, pp. 341–73.

De Graecia et eius prouinciis. Lib. I, cap. 22, vol. i, pp. 175–99 of Rolls Series.
De Italia. Lib. I, cap. 23, vol. i, pp. 199–207 of Rolls Series.
De Urbe Romana. Lib. I, cap. 24, vol. i, pp. 207–39 of Rolls Series.
De quibusdam Romanorum. Lib. I, cap. 25, vol. i, pp. 239–53 of Rolls Series.
From St. John's College, Camb. MS. H. 1.

4. *Die Sprache des 'Polychronicons' John Trevisa's*: Bernhard Pfeffer, 1912, pp. 99–144.

Lib. VI, cap. 29 (near end)—Lib. VII, cap. 12 (part)—vol. vii, pp. 245–421 of Rolls Series.
From MS. Cotton Tiberius D. VII, ff. 246–60 b.

5. Part of fol. 94 b, Harl. MS. 1900, printed by Blades,[1] showing contrast with Caxton's text.

6. *Altenglisches Lesebuch*: R. P. Wülker, vol. ii, pp. 205–8.

De Incolarum Linguis, MS. Harleian 1900. Reprinted from Rolls Series, ii. 157.
(Of Allemeyne or Germany, from the later translation of Higden, MS. Harleian 2261, Wülker ii, pp. 209–10. Reprinted from Rolls Series, i. 255 ff.)

7. *English Prose* (1137–1890): Dr. John M. Manly, 1909, pp. 11–12.

De incolarum linguis. Book I, chap. 59, vol. ii, pp. 157–63 of Rolls Series.

This is printed from St. John's College, Camb. MS. H. 1, and the name Trevisa indicating his additions is not omitted, as in Emerson, and Morris and Skeat.

8. Fly-leaf, vol. ii, Rolls *Polychronicon*, a facsimile of a page from B.M. Add. 24194, containing one of Trevisa's notes, and his conception of Noah's ark. The same passage is found in St. John's Coll. Camb. MS. H. 1, in the text, p. 229, l. 17, a wylde beste—p. 235, l. 9, clere i-now there it was. Higden, Lib. II, cap. 5.

[1] Wm. Blades, *Biog. and Typ. of Wm. Caxton*, 1897, p. 258.

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Date of completion, 1357 *or* 1387.

Each of the four MSS. examined gives the date on which Trevisa finished his translation, April 18, 1387.[1] The Cotton MS. agrees:[2] 'Thys translacyon ys yended in a thorsday the eyȝetūthe day of Aueryl & the ȝer of vr lord a thousend thre hondred vour score & seuene the tnethe ȝere of Kyng Rychard the second.'

On the other hand, evidence for 1357 comes first from Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*:[3] 'God be thanked for all his deeds. This translation is ended on thursday the 18th of Aprill 1357, the 31st year of King Edward the third, the year of my lords age, Sr. Thomas lord Berkeley that made mee make this translation, the 65th.' Caxton gives the same year, but changes the age of Lord Berkeley from 65 to 35. The following is the conclusion of Trevisa's translation of Bartholomeus *de proprietatibus Rerum* as given by Smyth:[4] 'Endles grace, blisse and thankinge to our lord God alweldinge these translations ended at Berkeley the sixth day of February the year of our lord 1398, the year of King Richard the second after the conquest of England, the 22nd. The year of my lords age Sr. Thomas lord of Berkeley that made me make this translation the 47th.'

According to Smyth, as has been shown before, Trevisa was at Berkeley during the rule of three of the lords, viz. Thomas, 8th lord, Maurice, 9th lord, and Thomas, 10th lord. Thomas, 8th lord, was born in 1293,[5] and thus was 65 at the time of the completion of the *Polychronicon* in 1357, as stated in Smyth. Thomas, 10th lord, was born in 1352,[6] and thus was 47 years of age at the finishing of Barth. *de Prop. Rerum* in 1398, as stated by Smyth, and as given in the MSS. Smyth is thus consistent in his dates. He claims also that Trevisa was at Berkeley some time during the rule of Lord Thomas 8th,

[1] Harleian 1900; St. John's College H. 1; Stowe 65; Burleigh House MS.; Chetham's, incomplete.

[2] Herbert's Ames's *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, p. 140.

[3] Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, ed. MacLean, vol. i, p. 343.

[4] MacLean's ed., vol. ii, p. 22.

[5] Smyth's *Lives*, and *Berkeley Castle*, by G. T. Clark (*Bristol and Gloucester Trans.* 1876), p. 115.

[6] Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. ii, p. 2.

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who died in 1361 (see above). We know that Trevisa had not received his appointment as Vicar in 1360. Ames,[1] in discussing this matter, uses the entry from Caxton, making the age of Sir Thomas 35. He then continues:

'The year 1357, indeed, is the last date expressly mentioned in this Polycronycon, but the history is continued for some years after, viz. to the peace between England and France; but without any date. It is evident the dates there given are not concordant, for the 18th of April 1357, was not on Thursday, but Tuesday; also, the year of Lord Berkeley's age does not agree with that given in the colophon to Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum, printed by W. de Worde, in which we are informed that it was translated by Trevisa, and finished 26 Feb. 1398, the year of Lord Berkleys Age XLVII. So that the true reading, or time when Trevisa finished the translation of the Polychronycon will be according to the Cottonian MS.' (quoted p. lxxxiv).

Babington[2] agrees with Ames, and, like Ames, refers to Caxton's entry. He says, 'Caxton (fol. 389 b) falsely makes Trevisa's translation end in 1357.' After giving the entry he proceeds:

'The true date is 1387, and Caxton's error has been corrected in the Harleian MSS. Catalogue (n. 1900) and in the general introduction to the Monumenta Historica Britannica, p. 4. The last date mentioned in Trevisa's text is 1357; hence, perhaps, Caxton's mistake; but the chronicle is continued to the year 1360.'

Cooke, on the other hand, thinks the 1357 date the correct one. In a note to an article, 'on the Ancient Inscriptions in the chapel at Berkeley Castle, with some account of John Trevisa,'[3] he says: 'Prof. Babington, on the authority of a MS. in the Bodleian Library,[4] makes this date 1387. It is probable, however, that this is a clerical error, or perhaps a later copy in which the scribe has altered the date to correspond with Thomas IV, 10th Lord Berkeley, grandson of Thomas III. Smyth, quoting perhaps from Trevisa's original MS., thus fixes

[1] Herbert's ed. of Ames's *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, p. 140.

[2] Rolls Series of *Polychronicon*, vol. i, lxii.

[3] *Transactions of Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Society*, 1876, vol. i, p. 138.

[4] Harleian MS. 1900, in British Museum.

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the date' (see ending as given by Smith above, p. lxxxiv). Cooke bases his claim solely on Smyth's entry, on the ground that perhaps he possessed the original Trevisa. This work should be correct. The lives have been supposed to be written by John Smyth of Nibley, based on the Berkeley MSS. 1066–1618. And yet he places the death of Trevisa ten years later than it actually happened, even basing his statement on the Worcester Episcopal Register.[1] If Smyth's work is a fabrication he has made his dates coincide.

We readily agree with Ames and Babington that Caxton changed the date from 1387 to 1357, to make it agree with the last date in the work. This is his 'embellishing' carried to the extreme. He doubtless did this, as he gives the age of Lord Berkeley 35, as in the MSS., not 65, as in Smyth.

One other bit of evidence is forthcoming, which proves beyond a doubt the authenticity of the date 1387. This comes from Trevisa himself, and is to be found in one of his additions, or explanatory notes, or interpolations, of which there are numbers in the *Polychronicon*, and which occasionally are to be found in some of his other translations The passage is in *Polychronicon*, Book I, chapter 59,[2] dealing with the language of the people of England. Part of Trevisa's note reads thus (taken from St. John's Coll. MS. H. 1):

'Þis manere was moche i-vsed to for firste deth and is siþþe sumdel i-chaunged; for John Cornwaile a master of Grammer, chaunged þe lore in gramer scole and construccioun of Frensche in to Englische; and Richard Pencriche lerned þe manere techynge of hym and of oþere men of Penrich; so þat now, þe ȝere of oure Lorde a þowsand þre hundred and foure score and fyue, and of þe secounde Kyng Richard after þe conquest nyne, in alle þe gramere scoles of Engelond, children leueþ Frensche and construeþ and lerneþ an Englische, and haueþ þerby auauntage in oon side and disauauntage in anoþer side', &c.

[1] See discussion of his death, p. lxxiv.

[2] Rolls Series of *Polychronicon*, vol. ii, p. 161. Same passage in Emerson, p. 224; Morris and Skeat, Part II, p. 241; Manly's *Prose*, p. 12. See also article by W. H. Stevenson, 'The Introduction of English as the vehicle of Instruction in English Schools', in *An English Miscellany*, p. 421. He also quotes the passage. Dr. Hickes quotes it in 'Praefatio' to his *Thesaurus*, vol. i, p. xvii.

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Thus, in 1385, Trevisa was still writing the first book of the *Polychronicon*. Tanner[1] refers to this as follows:

'Versionem ad finem perduxit, uti ex nota calci annexa patet, A. MCCCLXXXVII (rectius iuxta Cod. Cotton MCCCLXXXV) die Aprilis, [uti MS. nota ad finem MS. Cotton. In MS. Tenisoniano nota Trevisae, in lib. i, cap. 59. De desuetudine linguae Gallicae, vocat annum praesentem MCCCLXV, (ut male habet codex impressus) 9 Rich. II, qui est A. MCCCLXXXV].'

Ames,[2] in closing his discussion of this date, says: 'That Trevisa was living and wrote 9 Rich. 2, see Poly. Lib. 1, cap. LIX.'

(2) De Proprietatibus Rerum.

This is 'the Great Cyclopaedia of the Middle Ages', the noted work of Bartholomew Anglicus, or Bartholomew de Glanville (1230–50).[3] The date is uncertain. It was known in Italy in 1283, known and prized in Paris 1297 and 1329. It was known in England in 1296, as is proved by a MS. at Oxford (Ashmole 1512) which was copied in November of that year. The facts are arranged in nineteen books, with a religious and moral object. It was first printed at Basle about 1470, and went through fourteen or more editions before 1500; it was translated into French 1372, and was translated into English from the Latin in 1398 by John Trevisa, for Lord Thomas, 10th Lord of Berkeley.[4] This translation is preserved in the following MSS.:

(*a*) Helmingham Hall, Stowmarket, Suffolk. This was examined in 1874 by Arthur J. Horwood for the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.[5] His description is brief: 'Trevisa's translation into English of Bartholomew de Glanville's work, "De proprietatibus rerum", a superb MS. in folio, with illuminated letters and marginal ornaments: parchment, 14th century. It commences with 24 lines of verse, not in the printed edition.'[6]

[1] Op. cit., p. 721.

[2] Herbert's ed., vol. i, p. 40.

[3] For life see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. xxi, p. 409.

[4] See ending, p. lxxxviii.

[5] Hist. MSS. Com. Report I, App., pp. 60–1.

[6] In a letter dated July 1, 1914, Lady Tollemache of Helmingham Hall, was kind enough to invite me

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Rogers,[1] in his article on Trevisa, tells us that Mr. Tollemache exhibited this beautiful medieval Encyclopaedia at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute, at Bury St. Edmunds, July 1869.

(*b*) Harleian MS. 614.[2] The notice in the *Catalogue* is very brief and incomplete. The writer finishes his description when he describes Harl. 4789. The description under 614 is: 'A parchment book in folio, fairly written, containing an English translation of Bartholomaeus de Proprietatibus rerum, made at Berkeley, at the influence of Thomas Lord Berkeley, about A. D. 1398, perhaps by John Trevisa. At the end of the contents of the chapters, which are written at the beginning of the Book, is a short song, or copy of the verses made by the Trans.'

(*c*) Harleian MS. 4789.[3] An imperfect copy ending in the 46th chapter of the nineteenth book. The complete copy has 146 chapters. The compiler here tells us that No. 614 is complete, and gives its ending because of the importance of the dates, as follows:

'Eendeless grete bliss & thankynge to our Lord God alweeldynge; these translacyons eendid at Berkeley the sixte day of Feuer, the ȝheer of our Lorde a thousynde three hundrid fourscore & XVIII; the ȝheer of Kyng Rychard the secunde after the conquest of Yngeland, the 22 ȝheer. And of my lordis age, Sire Thomas lord of Berkeley, that made me make this translacyon XLVII.'

(*d*) Additional 27944.[4] Folio, vellum. Beg. XV. Verses at first beginning:

Troys was maad al of reed.
In þe bigynnynge of my book
That is clepid god me spede
In þe firste lessoun þat I took.

to go to Stowmarket and examine the MSS. This was found impossible. In answer to a recent letter, her secretary, Miss E. Lynd, writes that the MSS. have been removed to a place of safety because of the war.

[1] *Journ. of R. Inst. of Corn.*, No. XI, Apr. 1870.

[2] *Cat. of Harl. MSS.*, vol. i, p. 390.

[3] Ibid., vol. iii, p. 205.

[4] *Cat. of Additions to Brit. Mus., 1854-1875*, vol. ii, p. 882.

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I give the ending to show the difference in spelling between the MSS.:

'Endeles grace blisse and þonkynge to oure lord god all weldynge. Þise translasiouns I-endede at Berkeleye the sixte day of ffeuerer. The ȝere of oure lorde a thousande þre hundrid foure score and eiytetene: The yeere of Kyng Richarde the secounde after the conqueste of Engelonde two and twenty. The ȝeere of my lordes age Sire Thomas lord of Berkeley that made me make this translacioun seuene and fourty.'

Then follows a list of authors quoted in the work.[1]

Rogers, referring to this work, says that Watt in his *Bibl. Brit.* gives no less than nine editions of the book, inclusive of the translation into English by Thomas Berthelet, the edition of Wynkyn de Worde 1498, in double columns, in nineteen books, and the reprinted edition by Batman 1585. In regard to the latter edition this reference is found: 'Batman uppon Bartholome, his Booke, De Prop. Rerum, newly corrected, enlarged, and amended, with such additions as are requisite unto every severall book. London 1582. Fol.'

The three editions are described by Tanner, and by Boase and Courtney.[2] Tanner: 'Wynkyn de Worde, circa MCCCCXCIV: Tho. Berthelet, Lond. MDXXXV; Et tandem correct. et auctius a Steph. Batman, Lond. MDLXXXII.' Boase and Courtney give two editions by Worde: (1) 'Bartholomeus De Proprietatibus rerum. Translated into English by John Trevisa (woodcuts), Westminster, by Wynkyn de Worde (1494) fol.' (2) 'Bartholomew de proprietatibus rerum (Translated into English by John Trevisa), 2 parts, Black Letters (Wynkyn de Worde; Westminster, 1495 ?), 4°.' It is deposited in the Grenville Library, British Museum. In the Prohemium is the following: 'And John Tate the younger mote he broke which late hath in Englonde doo make this paper thynne That now in our Englyssh this boke is prynted Inne.' Concerning No. 2, a note states that this copy was bequeathed to the British Museum by Sir Joseph Banks, and that it is

[1] I was unable to find a record of any MS. at Burleigh House, as Miss Greenwood suggests (*Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 444.

[2] *Bibl. Cornub.*, vol. ii, p. 798.

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amongst the early printed books exhibited in a case in the King's Library. The next Englishman to print this work was Berthelet. Boase and Courtney have the following: 'Anno MDXXXV. Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum. Londini in aedibus Thomae Bertholeti regii impressoris cum privilegio a rege Hn. VIII (1535), fol.' In a note the ordinary ending is given, but this curious statement is added: 'A MS. in Berkeley castle says the translation was finished 18 April 1357, the 31st Edw. III, and in the 65th year of the age of Syre Thomas, lord Berkeley.'[1] The entry in regard to Batman reads thus: 'Batman vppon Bartholome his booke De Proprietatibus rerum, newly corrected, enlarged and amended with such additions as are requisite vnto euery seuerall booke taken foorth of the most approued authors, the like here to fore not translated in English. Profitable for all estates as well for the benefite of the mind as the bodie, 1582. Lond. imprinted by Thomas East, dwelling by Paules Wharfe, fol.'[2] Dr. Furnivall, in his edition of Thomas Vicary's *Anatomie of the Bodie of Man* (E.E.T.S., Extra Series, liii, 1888), quotes fifteen or more lines from Berthelet's 1535 ed., Bk. V, of *de Prop. Rerum*. He begins his note: 'Hear Bartholomeus de Glanvilla (*de Proprietatibus Rerum*, in John Trevisa's English) on Members simple.'

A new edition by Dr. R. von Fleischhacker is promised by the E.E.T.S. in the Extra Series.

A facsimile page of Wynkyn de Worde's edition, parts of caps. 67 and 68 of Book XVIII, is to be found in vol. i, p. 202, of Garnett and Gosse's *Illustrated History of English Literature*.

Various sections from this work have been collected and edited under the title *Medieval Lore from Bartholomaeus Anglicus*, by Robert Steele, 1893 and 1900. Mr. Steele lists ninety-four sources of the book, and also lists the various editions with dates as follows: Latin, twenty-one editions from 1480–1609; Dutch, two editions, 1479 and 1485; French, twenty-one

[1] This is evidently a mistake. Boase and Courtney must refer to the ending of the *Polychronicon* as given in the Berkeley MSS. (Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*).

[2] Copies of Berthelet and Batman are in the British Museum and Bodleian; in British Mus. numbered 456 a. 1 and 456 b. 15; in Bodleian, Douce B, subt. 292, and Douce B, subt. 28.

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editions, from 1482–1556; Spanish, two editions, 1494 and 1529; English, by John of Trevisa in 1397, three editions: (1) no date, at Westminster, printed by W. de Worde; (2) 1535, at London, printed by Berthelet; (3) 1582, at London, printed by East. (Steele's 1907 edition is in the King's Classics Series.)

(3) The Gospel of Nicodemus.

This translation of Nicodemus, *de Passione Christi*, was not known to Pits, Bale, or Tanner. It is not given in Dibdin's list. Blades first mentions it in vol. ii of his *Life of Wm. Caxton*, published 1861.[1] He also refers to the MS. usually listed Add. 16165. Rogers missed it in his otherwise complete list in 1870, but in his article of 1874 refers to it thus: 'A work of Trevisa's, previously unnoticed, viz. "Nichodemus' treatise on the passion of Christ", which is to be found in the British Museum Shirley's MSS. Additional 16156,[2] mentioned by Mr. J. Rawson Lumby at p. xxviii of his Introduction to vol. iii of the Master of Rolls Edition of Higden.' This notice by Lumby was in 1871. Boase and Courtney[3] refer to it in the words of the *Catalogue of Additions to MSS. in the British Museum*:[4] 'The translacon of Nichodeme (i.e. Nichodemi pseud.-Evangelium de passione et resurrectione Jesu Christi) out of latyn into englisshe laboured by Maystre Johan Trevysa, doctour in theologye, at the instaunce of Thomas, some tyme lord of Berkley, fol. 94 b.' They (B. and C.) also give the wrong number 16156. A study of the MSS. has been made by Prof. W. H. Hulme, Western Reserve University, in his edition of the poetical Gospel of Nicodemus for E.E.T.S., Extra Series C, 1907, pp. xxxii ff. He lists nine prose MSS. of the Gospel in Middle English, and thinks that others may be found. The MSS. as listed are: (1) Magdalen College, Cambridge, Pepys 2498 (pp. 459–63); (2) Brit. Mus., Egerton

[1] Op. cit. He noticed that Dibdin in *Typ. Ant.*, vol. i, p. 140, did not list it.

[2] Mistake of 16156 for 16165. He copied from Lumby, who has the same mistake.

[3] *Bibl. Cornub.*

[4] *Cat. of MSS. of Additions, 1846–1847*, p. 155. For another description of this MS. see Miss Hammond's article, 'The Departing of Chaucer', *Mod. Phil.*, vol. i, pp. 331–6.

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2658 (ff. 15 b–18); (3) Stonyhurst College, B. xliii (ff. 83–96); (4) Salisbury Cathedral Library, 39 (ff. 129 b–147); (5) Brit. Mus. Additional 16165 (ff. 94 b–114 b); (6) Oxford, Bodleian 207 .(ff. 120 b–124); (7) Brit. Mus. Harley 149 (ff. 255–76); (8) Worcester Cathedral Library, No. 172 (ff. 4–16); (9) Cambridge Univ. Library, mm. 1, 29 (ff. 8–16). The MSS. group themselves thus: (*a*) Egerton, Stonyhurst, Bodley; (*b*) Salisbury, Additional; (*c*) Pepys 2498; (*d*) Harley 149; (*e*) Worcester Cathedral; (*f*) Cambridge Univ. Library.

The Trevisa MSS. are the Salisbury and Additional, fully described by Prof. Hulme, pp. xl–xlvi.[1] The Additional MS. 16165 is a quarto containing 258 leaves, all of which, excepting the first three and the last one, are paper. The vellum leaves are a little smaller than the others, measuring 11 × 8 inches; the paper ones measure $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It belongs to about 1450, and is written in the hand of John Shirley. Over the top of 94 b and 95 a the following is written, in the same hand as the MS., 'þe passyoun of oure Lord ihesu translated by mayster John Treuysa'; over 95 b and 96 a is written, 'The passyoun of Jhu Cryst by Nichodemus'; over the other pages merely 'The Passyoun of Nichodemus'. Shirley ascribes this work to Trevisa, for near the beginning, f. 94 b, he writes: 'Maistre Johan Treuysa haþe here in mynde þat some tyme þe Greekes maden Ioustes and tournamentes', &c. In the Salisbury MS. we have: 'Here haue muynde, þat sumtyme þe Greces made Iustes *and* tornementes *and* oþer Pleyes of Maysterye etc.' Trevisa has only one of his comments in this work, found in both the Additional and Salisbury at the same place. In Additional it is found on fol. 112, where he gives a definition of 'Alleluya'. Beg. at fol. 112, a few sentences including Trevisa's addition:

'And our lord put forthe (f. 112) his honde and made þe signe of þe croys, ouer Adam, and alle þe holy seyntes, and helde Adam by þe right hande and went vp out of helle, and alle þe holy seyntes folowed oure lord þanne Dauid cryed strongelich, and seyde singe þe to oure lorde nowe a nuwe

[1] I examined only Add. 16165. Prof. Hulme, some years ago, transcribed the nine MSS. as well as de Worde's edition. He has been most kind in loaning me three of these transcriptions, viz. Additional, Salisbury, and Harl. 149, for the purposes of my study.

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songe for he haþe edoone merueylles and wonders, he haþe esaued his right-syde and his holy arme, oure lorde haþe emade his sauacou*n* eknowe in þe sight of nacou*n*s he haþe shewed his rightwysnesse and seyde, þis is ioye and blisse to alle his holy seyntes amen, Alleluya. *Trevysa*,[1] Alleluya is to meene preyse ye and heryeþe god alle at oones, and also lorde saue þowe me. And hit haþe menynges also as dyuers Auctours tellen þanne hit foloweþe in þe booke, here affter. Abacus seyde. . . .'

The same passage from Salisbury, f. 144 a (near end):

'*And* oure lord pute forþ ys hond *and* made þe syngne of þe croys ouer adam *and* alle þe holy seynt*us and* huld adam by þe ry3t hond and wente vp oute of helle *and* alle þe holy seynt*us* folwede oure lord þanne David *cride* stronglych *and* seyde syng 3e to oure lord a newe song for he haþ ydo me*r*ueylus *and* wondrus he haþ ysewed hys ry3t seyde *and* hys holy Arm oure lord haþ ymad ys sauacou*n* yknowe in (f. 144 b) sey3t of nacou*n*s he haþ yschewed hys ry3twysnesse *and* al þe multytude of seynt*us* answerede *and* seyde þys ys Ioye *and* blysse to all hys holy seynt*us* amen alleluia *teruisa*[2] amen ys to mene so mot hyt be alleluia hys to mene p*r*ayse 3e *and* heryuþ god alle aton*us and* also lord saue þou me: *and* hyt haþ oþer meny*ngus* also as dyuerse aucter*us* telluþ þanne hyt folueþ in þe bok her aft*ur* þe p*r*ophet Abacus *cride and* seyde. . . .'

In none of the other seven MSS. do we find this addition. In Harl. 149 is the reading: 'thys ys the glorye to alle Sayntes Amen, Alle*luia*, Than cryed Abacuch the prophete and seyde, etc.'

Hulme prints (p. xlv) a part of f. 94 b of Add. 16165. He also mentions the early Black Letter edition of the English Gospel of Nicodemus (p. lvii). He mentions the 1507 edition by Julyan Notary, London; Wynkyn de Worde, 1509; John Skat, London, 1529. The de Worde version is the most magnificent. Prof. Hulme, who looked into the matter, says:[3] 'Now, a casual comparison of the prologue, and the beginning and conclusion of the text with those of the Trevisa version (MS. Add. 16165), shows that no other connexion can possibly exist between the two versions than that of being different translations of one and the same story.' Prof. Hulme thinks

[1] Beg. 'Trevysa', ends 'here affter'—is Trevisa's addition.

[2] Beg. 'teruisa', ends 'her aftur' —is Trevisa's addition.

[3] Op. cit., p. lviii.

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the original of de Worde's text is to be found among the numerous Latin MSS. of the Evang. Nicod., preserved in English libraries.[1]

(4) De Re Militari and De Regimine Principum.

Trevisa's translation of the two works we are now to consider have been questioned. They are not spoken of by Pits or Bale. Tanner is the first writer to mention them. He seems sure that Trevisa translated them. Note his reasons: 'In Cod. Bodl. Digby 233, est translatio Vegetii *de re militari*. Pr. "In olde tyme it was the manere." Haec verisimiliter Trevisae debetur, quia facta erat ad mandatum dom. Tho. Berkley: A MCCCCVIII in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum finita. In eodem codice simili manu habetur translatio, cum eleganti pictura monachi regi librum dantes, Aegidii Romani *de regimine principum*. Pr. "To hys special, etc. politik sentence that is."' Dibdin merely notices them in his list. The Rev. Jas. Townley in 1821 lists them.[2] Babington,[3] after mentioning the MS. Digby 233 at Bodleian, and saying that the work was composed at the request of Lord Berkeley and finished in 1408, concludes: 'This is reasonably presumed to be executed by Trevisa, as well as a translation of Aegidius Romanus' *De Regimine Principum*, contained in the same volume.'[4] Rogers lists them as Trevisa's without doubt or comment. Cooke, in his Trevisa article in 1876 for the *Transactions* of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, regards it as Trevisa's last work, finished in 1408, four years before his death at the age of 90. He says: 'The translation of Vegetius has been attributed to Hoccleve, from a copy of it in the Bodleian Library being bound up with Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principis*. The characteristic dedication, however, at its conclusion, sufficiently proves its true authorship.' Cooke gives the dedication thus: 'To us alle God graunt grace of our offen-

[1] Op. cit., lix. I glanced into a great number of these Latin MSS. in the Brit. Mus., Bodl., and Univ. of Camb. Libraries.

[2] *Illustrations of Biblical Lit.*, vol. ii, pp. 49–55.

[3] C. L. Kingsford, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. lvii, p. 212, refers to these works in about the same manner as Babington.

[4] Rolls Series of Higden's *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. lv.

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dynge, space to our amendynge, and his face to be seen at our endyng. Amen.'[1]

Boase and Courtney[2] refer to both of them as MS. Bodl. Lib. Digby 233, and in a note says: '*De re Militari* was composed at Lord Berkeley's request and finished in 1408. It is sometimes said to have been done by Trevisa, but from the account in H. O. Coxe's *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxon. adservantur* (1852), ii. 19, of another copy at Magdalen College, Oxford, the translation would seem to have been executed by Clifton.' Coxe, in describing the Magdalen MS. 30, has it, 'e Latino in Anglicum Sermonem, versi per Clifton quendam, iussu Thomae domini Berkeley'.[3] He also gives the prologue and ending. The name Clif or Cleftoun was first given by Francis Douce.[4] He was followed by Caley in describing one of the Vegetius MSS., viz. B.M. Lansdowne 285. Macray is of the same opinion.[5] F. Madan, the late Librarian of Bodley, in his examination of the manuscripts, suggests Bannerton.[6] The most recent and perhaps most valuable note on the authorship of this work is by Prof. H. N. MacCracken, in an article entitled *Vegetius in English*, written for the Kittredge Anniversary Papers, published 1913.[7] Prof. MacCracken gives the various guesses to date, has some remarks about the meaning of the word Trevisa, and lists, with important notes, the nine known English MSS. Very significant is his discussion of the Trevisa authorship from internal evidence (p. 393). His notes comparing Vegetius with *Polychronicon*, although brief, are important. As he says: 'So closely does the Vegetius conform in style, dialect, and vocabulary to the acknowledged work of John Trevisa, that it is hard to believe any other had a hand in it.'[8] Prof. MacCracken continues: 'The mystery under present knowledge, seems insoluble, and may

[1] Compare this with dedication as taken from the MS., below, p. xcvi.

[2] *Bibl. Cornub.*, vol. ii, p. 798.

[3] *Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. adservantur*, by H. O. Coxe, 1852, vol. ii, p. 19.

[4] Caley's *Cat. of Lansdowne MSS.*

[5] Rev. Wm. Dunn Macray, *Cat. Cod. MSS. Digby*, 1883, p. 243.

[6] *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.*, iv. 582.

[7] See *Papers*, pp. 389–403.

[8] After a study of months in the Trevisa material, and an examination of much of the Digby MS. 233, the present writer is of the same opinion.

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be no clearer when a full comparison of the Vegetius with Trevisa's known work is made, for the writer believes it will only confirm the claim of identity here advanced.' So much for the various opinions as to authorship.

Tanner, who led the way in the Trevisa theory, based his claim on the Digby colophon, which runs thus:

'Here endeth þe book þat clerkes clepun in latyne Vigesius de re militari þe book of Vigesii of dedus of knyȝthod þe whiche book was t*ran*slated & turned fro latyn in to englesh at þe ordinaunce & byddynge of þe worthi & worschepful lord sire Thomas of Berkeley to gret disport & dalyaunce of lordes & alle worthy werryours þat ben apassed by wey of age al labour & trauaillyng & to grete informacion & lernyng of ȝonge lordes & knyȝttes þat ben lusty & loueþ to here & see & to vse dedus of armes & chiualrye. Þe turnynge of þis book into englisch was wreton & endud in vigile of al halwes þe ȝeer of oure lord, a þousand foure hundred & eiȝte þe X^e ȝeer of Kynge henry þe forþe. To him & to vs alle god graunt grace of oure offendynde space to oure amendynge & his face to seen at oure endyng. Amen. This is his name þat turned þis book fro latyn into Englische

Worschepful ⊏ toun.'[1]

The same colophon is found in MS. Magd. Coll. Oxf. 30,[2] but with 'worschepful' omitted, and cryptogram written thus: ⊐ ton. The other changes are in spelling: clepeth for clepun, dedes for dedus, ended for endud, se for seen, VIII.te for eiȝte, tenthe for X^e, herry for henry, and usually *i* for *y* in many words. fols. 1–115, 15th cent., vellum, folio.

In MS. Bodley Douce 291, fols. 4–120, the colophon is the same but cryptogram thus: ⊏ ton. This MS. vellum, folio, mid-15th cent.

Bodl. Laud, Misc. 416, fols. 182–226, omits cryptogram, but contains colophon on date and patron. Modern.

[1] Colophon as copied from MS. Digby 233, f. 227, at Bodleian. MacCracken prints it, op. cit., p. 389. Vegetius follows *De Regimine Principum*, which runs for fols. 1–183, mid-15th cent.

[2] Printed by Coxe in *Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. adservantur*, Part II, p. 30.

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B.M. Royal 18 A. XII, fols. 1–123. Author's name omitted. Modernized.

B.M. Lansdowne 285, fols. 82–136. Colophon on date and patron, but not on author.[1]

From this closing in Digby, which Tanner knew, he concludes, and with good ground, that Trevisa was the translator. For had not the Vicar of Berkeley concluded two famous translations, viz. *Polychronicon* 1387, and *De Prop. Rerum* 1398, in the same fashion, and at the bidding of the same Lord Berkeley, Thomas X? And, moreover, Tanner had evidence when he wrote that Trevisa was living and Vicar of Berkeley in 1408, and that he continued as such until his death, 1412. He gives as his authority Wharton's copy, purporting to be from the Worcester Registers, which copy is now deposited in Lambeth Palace Library.[2] The recent discovery of his death in 1402, instead of 1408, would seem to destroy utterly the Trevisa theory. There is but one saving clause, viz. that a late scribe might have written 1408, as a wrong date. This seems scarcely possible.

The counts against Trevisa as the translator are:

1. The newly found date of his death, 1402, instead of the heretofore accepted date, 1412. The colophon says the Vegetius was written and ended in 1408.

2. Trevisa in no other translation gives his signature in this form.

3. A careful reading of the Digby MS. 233, Vegetius, revealed none of the well-known Trevisa annotations or notes. These occur at every turn in the *Polychronicon*. There are over one hundred of them, covering some six hundred lines. Except in a few cases they are signed at the beginning 'Trevisa'. We find these notes also in *De Prop. Rerum*. Once he has a noted

[1] The other MSS. as noted by MacCracken are: (1) B.M. Add. 14408, fols. 49-66, no preface, and ends i. 28. Late 15th cent. 'Translated into Eng. by John Walton?' (*Cat. of Add. MSS. 1841–5*, p. 64). In same MS. *De Regimine Principis* or *Secretum Secretorum* in English verse. (2) B.M. Sloane 2027, fols. 1–36. Ends iii. 24. Late 15th cent. (3) Petworth 6 (Duke of Northumberland) omits colophon. (Hist. MSS. Com., 6th Report, 289, Ap.)

[2] Wharton's MS. L, p. 637, ex. Reg. Wigorn., in Bibl. Lambeth.

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annotation in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, twice in *De Regimine Principum*, and even in his short translation of *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum* he has a most interesting note. We might look for Trevisa notes in Vegetius, had he been the translator. The work is fairly long, covering fols. 183–227. There is excellent material for explanation and comment. A close comparison with the Latin original may reveal notes unsigned; such occur occasionally in the *Polychronicon*.[1]

(5) De Regimine Principum.

This prose work of the Rule of Princes is found in one MS., viz. Bodleian Digby 233, covering fols. 1–182 b (2). It is followed by Vegetius. Both are written in the same hand.

We have already, in connexion with Vegetius, noticed the comments in regard to this work. Cooke and others in the seventies regarded it as Hoccleve's; Boase and Courtney only remark, 'This translation is supposed to have been executed by Trevisa.' MacCracken regards it as Trevisa's. In naming MSS. of Vegetius under Digby he says: 'Follows translation by same author of *De Regimine Principum*.' Miss Greenwood mentions it in the Trevisa list, but questions it, as well as Vegetius.

We have no evidence of Trevisa's handiwork from the ending. There can be no controversy in that regard. It ends with no reference to patron, date, or author. It reads thus:

f. 182 b (2) 'þanne ȝif kynges & princes hauen riȝtful werre & bataille & ȝif here enemys disturbe wrongfulliche þe pees & þe comyn *pro*fit it is not in *con*uenyent to teche hem al man*er* fiȝtynge of bataille & al man*er* doynge by þe whiche þei mow ou*er*come here enemyes. And al suche doynge þei scholde ordeyne for þe comyn *pro*fit & for pees of citeseyns. ffor ȝif þei desiren þe comyn *pro*fit & pees of þe citeseyns þei schulle haue þat *per*petual pees in þe whiche is cheef quiete & reste. þe whiche pees god graunteþ & byhateþ to his owne trewe seruantes þat is Iblessed for eue*re*more. Amen.'

[1] An edition of Vegetius and further investigation may help to settle the matter. The E.E.T.S. announces an edition in Original Series, *Trevisa's englisht Vegetius on the Art of War*, from MS. 30 Magd. Coll. Oxon., by Mr. L. C. Wharton, Superintendent in British Museum.

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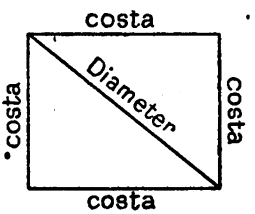
We find, however, evidence of Trevisa from two interesting annotations or additions.[1] These are typical Trevisa notes, and should be compared with those from the *Polychronicon* and the *Dialogue*. The first is found in fol. 143 b (2), Chap. xvi. Just before the entry Aegidius is speaking of the four powers that 'Scholde be knowe in rewelyng of a citee: þe prince, þe consaile, þe ȝeedhalle, & þe puple'. The work of the prince has been discussed, then he comes to speak of the consaile. He proceeds to enumerate six things:

'Þat falleþ not vnder consaille; first al þyng þat is in mutable & may not chaunge is out of oure consaile, for we taken consaille for to be reweled in oure dedes & nedes, & for to voide euel & for to haue good þan þynges þat may not be voided & þynges þat may not be changed falleþ not vnder counsaille. Þerfore iii ethicorum, it is Iseid þat of euere lastynge þynges & of þynges þat may not chaunge no man axeþ consaille for no man axeþ consaille of þe dyameter þat may not be Imeete by þe costa neþer oþer thinges þat may not change. f. 143 b (2) *Treuisa*, for þe menynge herof it is to wetynge þat in quadrate liche long & brood ben foure lynes liche longe & þe foure sides þerof & eche of thilke foure side lyned is Icleped costa, and a lyne Idrawe in lengþe fro þe oo cornere of þe quadrate to anoþer corner in þe oþer side is Icleped dyameter & þat diameter is lenger þan costa & it may not be knowe in nombrane in what proporcioun þe dyameter is longere þan costa.[2]



Þe seconde also of þynges þat meuen alwey in on manere wise is no consaille Itake for þynges þat meueþ alwey in on manere wise mot nedes meue in þat wise for of þynges þat ben necessarie & nedeful is no consail etc. etc.'

[1] These were found on a hasty survey of the entire MS. A careful reading and comparison with a Latin MS. may reveal others. Sometimes, in the *Polychronicon* notes, a scribe has failed to insert the word 'Trevisa', thus indicating the note. Hence a comparison with the original Latin is necessary.

[2] Trevisa's note ends with the diagram.

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The second addition or note is Chap. xvii, folio 144 b (1):

'ffor as it is Iseide iii° ethicorum þere eche consail be a questioun, ȝut not eche questioun is a counsaile. ffor ȝif consaille is Itake onliche of thinges þat stonde in oure dedes consaille is a questioun not of alle thinges but onliche of doynge & dedes of mankynde. Of speculatif thinges & of kynde of thinges & of euere lastynge thinges may be manye questions but suche questions ben not Icleped consailes. *Treuysa*, cours of sterres & planettes & of oþere things of kynde þat may not chaunge ben Icleped speculabilia, doynge & dedes of mankynde ben Icleped agibilia.'[1]

From Tanner, who writes of this work, 'In eodem codice (Digby 233) simili manu (as Vegetius) habetur translatio. . . . Forte Trevisa eius auctor', to MacCracken, all writers except Cooke (who speaks of Hoccleve) and Miss Greenwood (who questions it) have assigned it to Trevisa without hesitation or doubt. The reason is not evident. Is it because the work is bound up in the same MS. as Vegetius? The above Trevisa notes, the only sound evidence of authorship so far adduced, have never been noted before. Perhaps Trevisa's authorship may be more firmly established when a close study of the style, structure, &c., is made, and the work is compared with Trevisa's known works, *Polychronicon*, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, and *Nicodemus*.

A further word must be said in regard to the three works in this edition.

(6) Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum.

This work is not mentioned by Pits, Bale,[2] or Tanner. It was first assigned to Trevisa by Humphrey Wanley, 1708, in his description of Harleian MS. 1900. He gives no reason for making Trevisa the author. He even makes him not a translator of a Latin dialogue, but an original author, for he begins thus: 'Dyalogus inter Militem & Clericum': i. e. between the above-

[1] There is no indication of the closing of these additions in the MS. I referred to Latin MS. in each case.

[2] Bale's *Scriptores*, fol. 199, ed. 1548: 'Interim in monachos utcunque mordax erat, eorum & fastum & luxum multifariam taxans. Legimus Christum (inquit) pro uerbi sui ministerio, presbyteros instituisse, sed monachos aut mendicantes fratres fecisse non inuenimus, & cetera cum similibus sententiis.'

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mentioned lord and himself (in his title he has referred to Trevisa as Chaplain to Thomas Baron of Berkeley). Wanley knew nothing of Occam's dialogue, and regarded Trevisa as the Clericus, for, after giving the opening words of the *Dialogue*, he refers to Trevisa and his work thus: 'And the main Drift thereof seemeth to be to impugne the Papal power in Temporal matters; for, as may be gathered from John Bale, he was no great friend to the Regular Clergie of those times; and might possibly differ in Opinion from them, touching more matters, than their Pride, Luxury & Hypocrisie.'

Dibdin, in 1810,[1] in describing Harl. 1900 and Trevisa's works, knew nothing of the original, for he makes the same mistake as Wanley: 'A Dialogue between a soldier and a clergyman (viz. Lord Berkeley and the Author Trevisa)'. He then quotes the beginning and the ending.[2] The Rev. Jas. Townley,[3] in 1821, makes the same mistake as Wanley and Dibdin. From the nature of his list of Trevisa's works he copied directly from Dibdin. Dibdin knew of the printed edition (Berthelet) of the *Dialogue* (he had both Ames and Herbert) and Occam; he knew that the Latin was extant in Goldast's *Monarchia*, and he must have been acquainted with Oldys' *The British Librarian*, published 1738.[4] How then did he make the mistake of making Trevisa, the clergyman in this dialogue? Did he merely follow Wanley? He evidently did not know that Trevisa was the translator of the Latin Dialogue. Trevisa's name is not mentioned by Ames, Herbert, or Oldys.

Prof. Babington, 1865, was the first to connect Occam and Trevisa. He also tells us that Occam's original *De Potestate Ecclesiastica et Saeculari* is published in Goldast's *Monarchia S. Romani Imperi*, vol. i, pp. 13–18.[5] Rogers and Cooke both list it as a translation of William of Occam's dialogue. Boase

[1] Op cit., vol. i, p. 140.

[2] Dibdin evidently knew the last part of the *Dialogue*. The last two sentences are not given by Wanley. In the last sentence he had trouble with the phrase 'panes proposicionis'. He writes it 'thaves' (shewbread). He also has two other glosses in his quotation, viz. lewd (ignorant) and nought (not). He has modernized the spelling.

[3] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 49.

[4] See p. xlvi.

[5] Rolls Series of *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. liv.

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and Courtney are the first and only (except *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) authority to make Berthelet's copy Trevisa's translation. The entry is: 'M. Guilhelmi de Ockam, Angli, doctoris Parisiensis ex ordine minorvm Disputatio svper potestate praelatis ecclesiae . . . sub forma "Dialogi inter clericum & militem". In Melchior Goldastus' Monarchia S. Romani Imperii (1611), i. 13–18.' Then follows a note: 'The above is a copy of that which J. Trevisa translated into English with the following title: "A dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke concerning the power spiritual and temporall." (Imprinted at London in Flete-strete in the house of Thomas Berthelet nere to the cundite at the sygne of Lucrece) n. d. (1555).' Boase and Courtney then mention the MSS. in which it is found, viz. St. John's Coll. Camb. H. 1, Harl. 1900, and B.M. Add. 24194.

Kingsford is not so sure of the Trevisa authorship as he is of the other works. He names FitzRalph's *Sermon* and the *Methodius* tract as Nos. 3 and 4 of the seven works listed, making no comment, but puts the *Dialogue* among the doubtful works, with the remark that Dr. Babington ascribes the translation to Trevisa. He says it was printed at London 1540, thus ascribing to Trevisa the translation of Berthelet's edition. Kingsford agrees with Poole that Occam is not the author of the *Dialogue*.[1] Miss Greenwood regards the *Dialogue* as Trevisa's translation, referring to it in her list as 'Translation from pseudo-Ockham on temporal power of the church'.

No reason has been given from Wanley downwards for assigning the *Dialogue* to Trevisa. That it is his translation is established by one of his annotations, if on no other grounds. This annotation is found, near the beginning of fol. 16, headed by his name (see p. 6). The clerk and the knight are discussing the time of Christ's *manhed*, and the time of his power and *maicste*. Here we have Trevisa's definition of these phases of Christ's life. The addition takes up the greater part of fol. 16, ending at 'ffor the Kny3t spekiþ in þis manere', p. 7, l. 8.

[1] See articles in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* under Ockham and Trevisa; also above, pp. xliii ff.

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(7) FitzRalph's Sermon 'Defensio Curatorum'.

The translation of this sermon by Trevisa is not mentioned by Pits, Bale, or Tanner. It is first mentioned by Wanley in his examination of Harl. MS. 1900. He tells us the purpose of the sermon, also the date and place, by quoting the title of the Latin original as published in Brown's *Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum*, App., p. 466: 'Defensorium Curatorum contra eos qui privilegiatos se dicunt: Propositio Richardi (Filius Radulfi, sive Fitz-Rauf) Archiepiscopi Armachani Primatis Hiberniae, facta in Consistorio coram Domino Papa, & Dominis Cardinalibus ac Praelatis, ad utilitatem Cleri & populi Christiani, super materia Mendicitatis & Privilegiorum, contra Fratres de Ordinibus mendicantium quibuscunque: apud Avinionem octava die Mensio Novembris, A. D. 1357.' After quoting the passage fol. 11 b,[1] in regard to the number of students at Oxford (see text, p. 58, l. 26) he mentions two other sources of the Latin text, viz. Lambeth MSS. and Appendix to Usher's *Hist. Dogm.*[2] Dibdin gives the same quotation as Wanley down to 'haþ' (text, p. 59, l. 10). He has no reference to the originals, but only 'A translation of a Latin sermon of Radulf or Fitz Rauf, Archibishop of Armagh, Nov. 8th, 1357, against Mendicant Friars'. Babington has it preached at Oxford, 1357, against the mendicant friars.[3] Rogers, 1870, follows Babington; Cooke, 1876, fails to list it. Boase and Courtney give Nov. 8, 1357, at Oxford. They also name the MSS. containing it: Harl. 1900; St. John's Coll. Camb. H. 1; B.M. Addit. 24194; they also mention the Latin in Brown's *Fasciculus, etc.* Miss Greenwood fails to give place or date, simply: 'Sermon by Richard Fitz Ralph, abp. Armagh, addressed to the pope, against the mendicant friars.' Not one of these writers hesitates in ascribing this to Trevisa,[4] and yet

[1] The passage quoted beginning 'So þat'.

[2] Wanley does not mention the original Latin MSS. of the sermon.

[3] Not preached at Oxford. See Poole, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. xix, p. 196. Why does Babington make this mistake, and why is he followed by Rogers and Boase and Courtney? As we have seen, the original was known by Wanley. He gives Avignon.

[4] None of them give any reason for ascribing to Trevisa.

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there is no evidence of authorship in the MS. itself. Trevisa has failed to find anything worthy of his annotations. Of course it is bound up in five manuscripts, with two of Trevisa's works, viz. the *Dialogue* and *Polychronicon*. Does this prove anything?

Trevisa the Translator.

My conclusion that Trevisa translated the sermon is based upon (A) his method of translation, and (B) his arrangement of words in the sentence.

A. *Method of Translation.*

As a translator Trevisa had regard always to exact accuracy. He wished to be understood—this resulted in wordiness. In his original works, 'Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk upon Translation', 'The Epistle of Sir John Trevisa upon the translation of *Polychronicon* into our English tongue', and 'Notes to the *Polychronicon*', he is extremely verbose. But he is even more so in his translations.

This verbosity displays itself chiefly in two ways: (1) The use of doublets, translating one Latin word by two or more words. (2) Expansion of the Latin phrase, often adding words and phrases not found in the original.

1. *The use of Doublets.*

The most notable characteristic of Trevisa's style is the doubling of words. This is a constant practice, as well in his original works as in his translations.

Original Works:

Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk.

(1) but God of his mercy and grace.
(2) of their goodness and courtesy.
(3) to make translation trusty and true.

Trevisa's note in *Dialogue between a Soldier and the Clerk*, text, p. 6.

(1) of his myȝt, power & maieste.
(2) & hadde þe see & wynde & wėder & fendes.
(3) over alle þe deueles & fendes.
(4) also his lore was in myȝt & power.

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Translations:

Out of many examples listed I give only a few.

1. *The Polychronicon.*

(1) Vol. i, p. 359. L. deformes = wonderfoule & yuel i-schape.

(2) Vol. i, p. 359. L. in nundinis = chepinge and in feires.

(3) ,, p. 361. L. novis prodigiis = newe meruailles & wondres.

(4) Vol. iii, p. 241. L. fortunam = þe fortune & happe.

(5) ,, ,, L. straverat = i-heled & i-sprad.

(6) ,, iv, p. 9. L. eius ditioni = to his lordschipe and mageste.

(7) Vol. iv, p. 19. L. dolose = by fraude & by gyle.

(8) ,, p. 21. L. propter pium cultum = for his riȝtful byleue and worschippinge of God.

2. *The Dialogue between the Soldier and the Clerk.*

(1) 2/10. L. statuta = statutes & ordinances.

(2) 4/6. L. dominium = lordschipe, power, & auctorite.

(3) 6/5. L. potestas = power & mageste.

(4) 13/4. L. lacerata lex = þe lawe is y-tore and to-rent.

(5) 15/10. L. cognitionum = of doome & knowleche of dower.

(6) 23/13. L. vestram violentiam = ȝoure violence & ȝoure wrong.

(7) 24/11. L. tollitis = ȝe to-tereþ & to-heleþ & takiþ awey.

3. *The Gospel of Nicodemus.*

Þat þowe have and comande, þat he come and stande, gret reverence & worship, destroye and vndo, lowted & bowed, bowed and bended, nys neyþer truwe ne soþe, and tellen þe sooþe and þe trouþe, hade pitie & mercye, we wit ner avyse hem, ye witteþe & knoweþe.

4. *De Regimine Principum.*

Dignytees & hye astates, by heritage & by successioun, his children & successours, resoun & lawe, gret & perfite loue, to kepe & saue, precepte and commandement, syngel power and myȝt, schal be wise & konnynge to gouerne & to rule, to declare & determine.

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5. *The Sermon.*

(1) 43/2. L. ex quo est acceptior Deo = & more alowed & leef to god.

(2) 45/9. L. involuti = beþ wrapped & snarled.

(3) 46/4. L. involuti = beþ y-wralled & y-snarled.

(4) 48/30. L. hoc implicat contradictionem = hit closeþ contradiccion & wiþ saiyng.

(5) 50/33. L. suo proprio sacerdote = to her prest & her ordinarie.

(6) 63/32. L. inobedientes = vnobedient & vnbuxom.

(7) 72/16. L. quod commodum temporale = þat worldliche profit & wynnyng.

(8) 75/30. L. habenti corporalem defectum = a wemme & defaute in his bodȳ.

(9) 76/19. L. sicut in furto = as in þefþe & stalþe.

(10) 92/12. L. de victu & vestitu = of mete & drynke & cloþ.

II. *Expansions and Additions.*

1. *The Polychronicon.*

Vol. i, 137 ff. Lat. in prima namque expeditione Aciana, post Vesorem regem Ægypti fugatum, in redeundo circa Asiam pacandam quindecim annis vivi immorati, querelis uxorem tantam moram non ferentium revocantur=in þe firste iourney in Asia after þat þey hadde i-dreue and i-chased and i-pursewed Vasore þe kyng of Egipt into þe tornynge aȝe, þey abede fiftene ȝere for to make pees in Asia. But wyfes made grete pleyntes and sorwes þat hire housbondes were so longe from home, and so þe men were of-sent and torned home to dwelle wiþ hir wifes.

Vol. i, p. 361. Lat. ut aliquam aquam transeunt, in propriam naturam redeunt = but anon as þere swyne passeþ any water þey torneþ aȝen into his own kynde, where it be straw, hey, gras, oþer torues.

Vol. iii, pp. 239 and 241. Lat. reliquam partem de nocte soporatam dispersit=and fil vppon the oþer deel anyȝt whanne þey were a-slepe, and slowȝ of hem, and chased hem, and brake and to schad hem everich oon from oþer.

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Vol. iv, p. 11. Lat. cuius veneni tanta vis fuit = þe strengþe and þe malice of þis venym was so grim and so grisliche.

Vol. iv, p. 25. Lat. qui respondit ei amphibolice = and Appolyn answered hym amphabolice, þat is, that he ȝaf hym an answere of double understondynge.

2. *The Dialogue.*

(1) 4/10. Lat. Christianus = a trewe Cristen man.

(2) 6/3. Lat. humilitates vsque suam passionem = þe tyme of his manhed was from þat he toke flesch & blode anon to his passion.

(3) 11/15. Lat. ergo etiam ratione peccati debet papa de sanguine iudicare sed plumbeum est argumentum id = þerfore bycause of synne þat siche men doþ, þe pope schal deme & be domesman? In cause of felony & of mannes deþ, þe argument is nouȝt.

(4) 15/12. Lat. & saepe firmari possit regalibus instrumentis = & schal be preued oþer dispreued by preues oþer dispreues of þe kynges lawe.

(5) 17/10. Lat. vtique operatiis & stipendiariis = to workmen, to hyred men, to oxen & nouȝt to kynges.

(6) 23/3. Lat. & quicquid superest = and al þat is ouer þat nediþ to mete & drynke & helyng.

(7) 24/14. Lat. non perstrepite = y pray ȝou leteþ be ȝoure noyse & ȝoure grucchyng.

(8) 25/12. Lat. videtis ergo, cum pauca regi traditis, quomodo salutem vestram redimatis, quando omnia bona vestra deperdenda saluat = þanne ȝe seeþ þat whanne ȝe ȝeueþ a lytel what to þe kyng ȝe biggeþ ȝoure owne sauacioun & saueþ ȝoure owne goodes & catel þat schulde be distried wiþ ȝoure owne neiȝbores & wiþ men of straunge londes, nere þe kynges help & his socoure.

(9) 26/15. Lat. sed non quiescitis = & ȝe resteþ nouȝt but grucchiþ alwey.

(10) 32/8. Lat. reddite omnibus debita, cui tributum, tributum, cui vectigal vectigal = ȝeldeþ & payeþ to alle men what is dewe to hem to whom tribute is dewe payeþ tribute. And to whom oþer rente and seruise is dewe payeþ hem oþer rent & seruise.

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(11) 36/12. Lat. posse addere, posse minuere quae libet temperare = & þat he may putt to pryuyleges & lawes & wiþdrawe & chaunge & redresse euereche þat erreþ.

(12) 37/11. Lat. panes propositionis = loues þat were cleped panes proposicionis.

3. *Sermon.*

(1) 45/2. Lat. incendiarios = incendiaries þat settiþ houses afyre.

(2) 49/4. Lat. suo sacerdoti sive ordinario = to his owne prest þat is his curator & his ordinarie.

(3) 50/4. Lat. confitens = he þat is y-schryve to freres.

(4) 52/11. Lat. scilicet obedientiae quoad legem confessionis, & etiam quoad legem personae = for he is obedient in þat he schryueþ hym & also in þat he schryueþ hym to his ordynarie, þat is his curatour.

(5) 55/33. Lat. fratribus confitentur = & children beþ y-schryve to freres.

(6) 56/21. Lat. quale est furtum huiusmodi = siche þefþe and trespace is siche stilyng.

(7) 56/32. Lat. pro aliquo malo vitando = for-to avoyde & ascape harme what harm hit euere were.

(8) 60/11. Lat. per hoc clerum & populum importune velut effrontes ubi libet overantes = and bynymeþ þerby þe fleece of þe peple & of þe clergie & chargiþ hem in euerech place.

(9) 62/19. Lat. quod habere jus praedicandi fidelibus = having riȝt to preche and to cristen men.

(10) 72/7. Lat. recipiendi ad sepulturam = to fonge dede bodyes to sepulture.

(11) 73/28. Lat. in paupertate & humilitate = in þe heiȝeste pouert and mekenesse.

(12) 81/18. Lat. nec fingere quis potest quod praemissum praeceptum est ceremoniale = & no man may feyne þat the forseide heeste is cerymonial, to be vsed among þe Jewes aloone.

(13) 82/12. Lat. & aperto ore eius invenies staterem = & open his mouþe & þou schalt fynde a stater a þinge þat weyeþ half an vnce.

(14) 83/23. Lat. condemnat eos qui quaestum aestimant

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pietatem = dampneþ her trowyng & her opinioun þat trowiþ þat beggerie & gaderyng is holy myldnesse.

(15) 86/11. Lat. quorum neutrum providus homo affirmabit = but no, wise man wole saye þat þe holy gost had forȝete his office noþer þat þe apostles hadde sich enuye.

(16) 87/3. Lat. quod a vulgo vocatus non solum filius fabri, sed faber = ffor he was nouȝt y-cleped oonlich a carpenters sone, but also he was openlich y-cleped a carpenter.

B. *Arrangement of Words.*

I. *Position of the Subject.*

Very rarely does the subject follow the verb in Trevisa. In the first three hundred pages of vol. v of the *Polychronicon* the following cases occur: p. 5 & þere came a wydewe wepynge; p. 19 but speke wolde he nevere; p. 115 þat tyme come up Arrian his heresie.

The Dialogue: 13/12 þanne bigynneþ ȝoure knowleche & ȝoure dome; 20/4 ȝaf nouȝt oure forfadres.

The Sermon: 45/4 of þe whiche vnneþe comeþ to me & to my penitaunseres fourty aȝere; 47/27 most be ordeyned his propre medicyn; 86/3 may nouȝt be y-founde oon notable worde.

II. *Position of Object.*

Exceptions to the regular order are:

Polychronicon, vol. v, pp. 1–300: p. 31 cruel lawes he tempered; p. 91 myȝte tho non answere gete; p. 129 olde chirches he mendede, and new chirches he bulde.

Dialogue: 21/2 masses ȝe siggiþ nouȝt noþer syngiþ in chirche.

Sermon: 46/2 & so of þe grettest wynnyng, no teþing paie; 48/3 þei myȝt noon siche bildyngis make; 84/3 bot God hit forbede; 89/16 his resouns ich ouerpasse at þis tyme.

III. *Position of the Adjective.*

In the case of a single adjective, it almost invariably precedes the noun. In the case of two adjectives, Trevisa does not

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adhere to the old rule, one before the noun and one after. The following examples illustrate his usage:

1. *The Dialogue between the Lord and the Clerk*: the great & high tower; great & noble information; to make translation trusty & true.

2. *Epistle on Translation*: my worthy and worshipful Lord; a bettere English translation & more profitable.

3. *Polychronicon*: vol. v, p. 47 a wel trewe iuge and stedefast; vol. v, p. 199 with grete batailles and stronge; vol. v, p. 203 & hadde weder hard and stormes; vol. ii, p. 227 wiþ smale twigges and wiþ red; vol. ii, p. 231 couenable and clene mete; vol. ii, p. 303 of oon colour whyte oþer blak.

4. *De Rerum Proprietatibus*: the noble and expert doctrine; of wise and well-learned; ye witty and eloquent readers; diuers and contrary shapes; many riuers and great; a strong land and a sturdy; white bears most great and right fierce; vseth vile meat and little.

5. *Rule of Princes*: youre chaste & worthi childhode; eny singuler profite; by liknes rude & bystrous; vnder hiȝ & derk materes.

6. *Nicodemus*: chese ye many men and stronge; chose twelve þe strengest men and most mighty; a wonder dredful sweven and a grisly; many gloryous myracles; eight and thritty wynter; clene lynen cloþe.

7. *Dialogue between the Soldier and the Clerk*: 1/4 sotil & derk speche; 6/26 & many oþer grete dedes; 20/9 in pore men & nedy; 20/12 grete lordschipes & huge; 30/4 to holy vse & mylde; 31/12 to comyn & greuouse charges; 35/3 by witnesse cleer & trewe.

8. *Sermon*: 39/15 seuen sermons oþer eiȝte; 43/22 þat were damage & desauauntage greuous & huge; 49/16 hereþ oon masse oþir many; 55/34 wiþ smale ȝiftes and gileful; 59/9 is a noble librarie and a grete; 63/2 of þe laste riȝtful dome; 91/9 in þe mouþe of a wise man & redy.

IV. *Position of the Adverb.*

The adverb is almost always placed after the verb. Very often the object separates it from the verb.

1. *Polychronicon*: vol. v, p. 2 dede noþing wrongfulliche;

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p. 17 brouȝte hym by myȝte priueliche; p. 27 þat recceþ neuere; p. 91 offrede sacrifise besiliche; p. 207 he ȝaf neuere bataille.

2. *Dialogue*: 8/2 lo þou herest openlich; 11/12 þis argument is riȝt nouȝt; 24/5 þat recchelesliche suffreþ ȝou so frowardliche wirche; 37/4 suffre ȝe hit pacientliche; 37/6 no man kike vnriȝtfullich.

3. *Sermon*: 39/23 never beggide wilfulliche; 40/1 never tauȝt wilfulliche to begge; 40/3 no man may redilich & holiliche beggyng vppon hym take euermore to holde; 40/21 y pray ȝowre holynesse mekelich & deuoutliche; 42/16 þat freres counseileþ so men; 44/24 ffer þei payeþ neuere teþinge; 61/35 schulde coueite his catel wrongfulliche; 64/23 schal examyne hem bisiliche of þe riȝt feiþ; 64/32 þei doþ neuerþelas vnobedientliche; 65/8 by þe which þei beþ so made riche; 67/11 ich hote alle freres heiȝliche by obedience; 79/5 he takeþ þat office wilfullich; 82/32 þanne Crist dide so neuer.

(8) Methodius 'þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe Ende of Worldes'.

This is not mentioned by Pits, Bale, or Tanner, unless it is the one listed *De Memorabilibus temporum*. The Harleian Catalogue recognizes it among Trevisa's works, and quotes the title (p. xvi above). The Catalogue has this remark on the original: 'Learned men generally deem it supposititious; it being idle enough, and making mention of the great Conquests & Cruelties of the Sarazens, who brake not forth from Arabia until many Centuries after the decease of Methodius Patarensis.' Dibdin notices it, as part of Harl. 1900. Townley has the same notice as Dibdin. Rogers: 'A spurious production "On the beginning and end of the world", ascribed to Methodius.' Cooke does not mention it. Boase and Courtney: 'Erroneously ascribed to Methodius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who died 14 June, 846.' Miss Greenwood: 'Translation of a tract by pseudo-Methodius.'

The authorities quoted assign this to Trevisa without giving any reason. It is bound up with Trevisa material in but two MSS., viz. Harl. 1900 and Burleigh House.

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Trevisa not the Translator.

My conclusion that Trevisa did not translate this work is based upon his method of translation, and his arrangement of words in the sentence.

A. *Method of Translation.*

We have in English not a full and complete translation of Methodius's *Revelationes*. The Latin work consists of about 7,000 words; the English translation has been shortened to about 3,500. A great number of lines and passages, however, have been translated literally. There is a complete absence of the Trevisa habit of using doublets. The tendency is to shorten the Latin expression. Very rarely does the translator make explanations. The following illustrations will show the method employed:

96/6 þere were men wickid doeris & fynderis of worst crafte of þe sones of Caym. Lat. surrexerunt viri malae artis inventores, iniqui, & omni nequitia plani, ex filiis Cain.

99/2 afterward þe sones of Iaphet senten to Iointum men and gaftis men of heliynge & buylderis. Lat. miserunt viros potentes filiis Iaphet, nimis sapientes & artifices in arte tectoria constructores.

100/5 Cusdro herynge, lete hem aloon til þat þei passide þe flood of Tigre. Lat. audiens autem de eis Cosdrum, subrisit & dimisit eos vsque transierunt flumen Tygrim.

102/3 & þe ȝok of hem schal be heuy vppon þe nolles of folkes. Lat. & in duplum erit iugum illorum, super colla vniuersarum gentium.

104/15 and þei schule go togidre seruauntis & olde men riche men & pore wiþ affliccioun & weelynge schule seye: 'Blessed be þei þat wente before vs of þis liȝt.' Lat. & gradiuntur in ea senes & seniores, inopes & diuites, esurientes, sitientes, compedibus vincti, & manicis ligati, & beatificant eos qui iam mortui sunt.

105/15 her horsis þei schule tyȝe to þe sepulcris of seyntis, as to rackis. Lat. et iumenta sua ad sepulchra sanctarum alligabunt, tanquam ad praesepia.

106/6 þus soþly þei pursuede þe prophetis þat weren before

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vs, but whiche dwelleþ stille vnto þe ende, he schal be saf. Lat. sic enim persecuti sunt prophetae qui fuerunt ante vos: qui autem sustinuerit in finem hic saluus erit.

108/5 as þei were in þe dayes of Noe etynge and drinkinge, gladinge & weddinge. Lat. sicut enim in diebus Noë erant homines manducantes & bibentes, & nubentes, & nuptias contrahentes.

108/12 and þei schule hyde hem silf in hilles and in spelunkis. Lat. abscondent se in montibus, & speluncis & in monumentis.

108/15 siche perfere schul ete þe flesche of men & serpentis & iumentis. Lat. comedent carnes hominum, & bibent sanguinem bestiarum sicut aquam, & comedent immunda, serpentes, scorpiones.

B. *Arrangement of Words.*

1. *Position of the Subject.*

In many cases the subject is compound, and the parts are separated by the verb. This peculiarity never occurs in Trevisa. Examples are:

94/12 þei beþ cast out virgyns of paradise.

95/11 fornicaciouns beþ ouermyche enlargide vppon erþe & vnclennessis of þe sones of Caym.

95/17 and Caym dwellide & his kynrede.

97/12 Noe bigan to buylde agein newe possessioun, & his sones in þe erþe.

98/18 þei made to hem a kyng þe sones of Cham.

104/4 & alle þingis schulen be vnder þe ȝok of hem & in þe tribute of hem & alle ournamntis of riche men.

108/11 & þei schule bigynne to wexe pale for drede, alle men þat dwellen vppon erþe.

2. *Position of the Object.*

Four examples of object preceding the verb: 98/10 al astronomye & sterres of heuene he fonde; 102/15 fiȝteris wiþ armes þei gaten; 105/15 her horsis þei schule tyȝe; 108/16 wymmen wiþ lytel children þei schul ete.

3. *Position of the Adjective.*

The translator is most sparing in his use of adjectives. A

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single adjective before the noun is the rule. Contrary to Trevisa's custom, very few predicative adjectives occur. The only deviation is to be found in the following:

95/1 þei gendride Caym the first geten; 95/7 a man geaunt & grete; 96/9 þe sones of Lameth þe blynde.

4. *Position of Adverbs.*

Very few adverbs are used. The translator appears to have difficulty in placing them, especially the adverbial phrases.

95/13 in þe IX^{c} ȝere soþly & XXX Adam is deed, & is buried in Ebron, in þe first þousand of þe world.

100/16 wente oute firste of wildernesse to stryue in batail.

'Soþly' is used very often, in time phrases, as, 'Soþly in þe sixe hundred ȝere etc.', which is but rarely used by Trevisa. ('It is soþe' is occasionally used in Trevisa.) The adverb in 'liche' does not occur. This is used by Trevisa, not only as an adverb, but also as an adjective.

5. *Other Peculiarities.*

(*a*) forto used but once: 103/6 wiþ þat þat is most foule forto saye. In Trevisa, used very often, in the following senses: *Poly.* v. 207 forto = Lat. donec. *Dial.* 7/12 but for to folowe hym = Lat. ut, in order that; also *Dial.* 7/14 & forto preue þis.

(*b*) tofore = before, is very common in Trevisa, but is never found in Methodius.

(*c*) The Genitive in his, -es, -is is very frequent in Trevisa, but found only once in Methodius, e. g. 110/2 a man of mannes seed of þe kynred of Dan. In all other cases the genitive is formed with 'of'.

(*d*) The indefinite 'me' occurs again and again in Trevisa.[1] This does not occur in Methodius.

(*e*) *Impersonal verb.* The only example of the impersonal use in Methodius is 96/18 it forþinkiþ me þat y made man. The impersonal construction is very common in Trevisa. *Dialogue*: 3/9 him nediþ nouȝt but write; 10/14 & ȝeue where hym likeþ;

[1] Malory uses 'men' (Baldwin, p 20), so also does Caxton (Keelner, xlvi).

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14/12 hit nediþ nouȝt but close þe ȝates; 28/9 þanne me schal nouȝt spare; 33/10 ffor hem nediþ. *Sermon*: 40/29 me is leuer suffre; 41/3 as me semeþ; 58/24 for hem is leuer make hem erþe tilyers; 78/19 hereby as him semeþ.

(*f*) *Vocabulary*. Trevisa's familiar words do not occur in the tract. Among these may be listed: bynyme, vnneþe, eueriche, wiþsigge, outtake (except).

(*g*) And finally, the loose sentence, as displayed here, is not Trevisa's. One example will suffice. 96/5 in þe CCC & XL^{c} ȝere of þe lif of Iareth in þe secunde þousand of þe world, þere were men wicked doeris & fynderis of worst crafte of þe sones of Caym, & of al vnclennesse, & filþe, þat is Obal & Tubal, þat is to wite þe sones of Lameth þe blynde, which was þe first blynde man þat slow Caym.

(9) Trevisa and the Bible—History of the Discussion.

That Trevisa translated the Bible was first mentioned by Caxton in the proheme to his edition of the *Polychronicon* (1482), where he states that: 'Treuisa vycarye of barkley which atte request of one Sir thomas lord barkley translated this sayd book [*Polychronicon*] the byble & bartylmew de proprietatibus rerum out of latyn into englyssh.' Bale[1] (1495–1563) follows Caxton: 'In Anglicum idioma, ad petitionem praedicti sui domine de Barkeley, transtulit Bibliorum opus.' Smyth[2] in translating *Balaeus de Scriptor Angl. Centur.* 7, No. 18: 'Into the English tongue hee likewise at the request of said lord Berkeley translated the whole bible, as well the old as New Testament.' Pits (1560–1616) simply says: 'Sacra Biblia libros duos.' Bishop Ussher[3] (1581–1656) seems to follow Bale. Carew[4] (1602) writes, referring to Trevisa:

'At whose request [Thomas Lord Berkeley] he translated the Bible into the English tongue; though the same was done by John Wickliffe fifty years before, but not with that perfection of language, that Trevisa did it, altho Trevisa's translation

[1] *Script. Illustr.*, ed. 1559, p. 518.
[2] Op. cit., vol. i, p. 343.
[3] *Hist. Dogmatica*, p. 157 (Ussher quotes Bale and refers to him).
[4] Op. cit., ed. 1811, p. 269.

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is altogether as far short of Tyndall's in Henry VIII days, by reason the English tongue was still improving to a higher pitch, for they all agreed in the original sense and meaning of the text.'

In 1611 the translators of King James's Version of the Bible seemed to have believed it. The preface says: 'Much about that time, even in our King Richard's the Seconds dayes, John Trevisa translated them into English.'

Cooke says:

'Fuller writes as if he had seen the translation itself and compared it with Wyckliff's. In his *Church History of Britain* (1655), in an entry under the year 1395,[1] 19 Rich. II, on the death of Trevisa, he says: "But his masterpiece was the translating of the Old and New Testaments, justifying his act herein by the example of Bede, who turned the Gospel of St. John in English. I know not which more to admire, his ability that he could, his courage that he durst, or his industry that he did perform so difficult and dangerous a task, having no other commission than the command of his patron, Thomas Lord Berkeley. It may seem a miracle that the bishops being thus busy in persecuting God's servants, and Trevysa so obnoxious to their fury for this translation, that he lived and died without any molestation. Yet was he a known enemy to monkery, witness that (among many others) of his speeches, that he had read, Christ had sent apostles and priests into the world, but never any monks or begging friars. But whether it was out of reverence to his own aged gravity, or respect to his patron's greatness, he died full of honor, quiet, and age, little less than ninety years old."'

In his *Worthies of England*[2] (first ed., 1662) Fuller, in writing of the Worthies of Cornwall, gives almost the entire space of Trevisa to this translation of the Bible:

'A daring work for a private person in that age, without particular command from Pope or public council. Some much admire he would enter on this work, so lately performed (about

[1] Fuller, *Ch. Hist. of Britain*, in ed. of 1655, given in pars. 43, 44, 45, under date 23 Rich. II, 1397. In Brewer's ed. 1845, put under year 1395, 19 Rich. II, vol. ii, p. 380. In Nichols's ed. 1868 same date as 1845 ed. (3 vols.), vol. i, Bk. IV, pp. 543–4.

[2] 1662 ed. (in 4 parts), Part I, p. 214; 1811 ed., John Nichols (2 vols.), vol. i, p. 217; 1840 ed., P. A. Nuttall (3 vols.), vol. i, pp. 316, 317.

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fifty years before) by John Wickliffe. What was this, but, *actum agere*, to do what was done before? Besides, Wickliffe and Trevisa agreeing so well in their judgments, it was much he would make a re-translation. Such consider not, that in that age it was almost the same pains for a scholar to translate as transcribe the Bible. Secondly, the time between Wickliffe and Trevisa was the crisis of the English tongue, which began to be improved in fifty, more than in three hundred years formerly. Many coarse words (to say no worse) used before are refined by Trevisa, whose translation is as much better than Wickliffe's, as worse than Tyndal's. Thus, though the fountain of the original hath always clearness alike therein, channels of translation will partake of more or less purity, according to the translators age, industry, and ability.'

Wharton (1664–95) follows Ussher in ascribing the translation to Trevisa. He even ascribes the revised version of Wycliffe to Trevisa. John Lewis (1675–1747) in his work on Wycliffe's translation [1] in 1731, writes of Wharton's opinion thus:

'I am assured by a learned friend that the late Mr. Humfrey Wanley [2] (1672–1726), who had taken a great deal of pains in this matter and been very curious in his searching told him, that Mr. Wharton in ascribing the translation commonly called Wicliff's to Trevisa was misled by John Bagford [2] (1650–1716), and that Trevisa translated no more of the Bible than certain sentences painted upon the walls of the Chapel in Berkeley Castle.'

Mr. Wanley, who examined the Trevisa MS. (now Harl. 1900) some time between 1708 and 1726, expresses his doubt of the Trevisa translation thus:

'As to the Bible's being wholly translated by our author Trevisa: I perceive it mentioned by Caxton: from him by Bale and Pits, who give the beginning of the Preface thereunto: from Bale, Primate Usher takes the notion; and at length Mr. Wharton (App. ad Cav. Hist. Litt., p. 49) [3] believes it may still be extant; it relating not to the book [*Polychronicon*] in hand. I shall say no more but this; I shall be very glad to see one of them.'

Lewis thinks that Bale was misled by mistaking the dedica-

[1] *The New Testament Translation of John Wicliff*, 1731, p. 13. Also in Lewis, *A Complete Hist. of Translations of Bible and New Testament*, ed. 1818, p. 50.

[2] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[3] *Cat. Lib. MSS. Bibl. Harl.*, vol. ii, p. 320.

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tion, 'I Johan Trevisa your preeste & bedemen obedyant and buxom to werke your wylle', to Trevisa's Epistle to Lord Berkeley on translation of the *Polychronicon*, for a dedication to a translation of the Bible. As noticed above, Bale and Pits and Tanner (below) all have this translation beginning: 'Ego Iohannes Trevisa, Sacerdos.' Mr. Lewis proceeds: 'So far as I can find, no body ever yet saw an English Bible with a preface on it beginning in this manner.' He takes exception to Wanley's statement that Trevisa translated only certain verses painted on the chapel of Berkeley Castle, and gives a number of verses taken from Trevisa's translation of Barthol. *De Prop. Rerum*, given to him by Dr. Daniel Waterland (1683–1740). The verses[1] are Matt. xii. 45, 46, Matt. xviii. 32, Matt. xix. 13, 16, Matt. xxv. 18, Matt. xxvii. 19.

Tanner (1674–1735) thought that Trevisa translated the Bible: 'Jussu nobilis viri Thomae Dom. Berkeley patroni sui benignissimi transtulit in sermonum Anglicum Utrumque Testamentum, lib. II. "Ego Iohannes Trevisa, Sacerdos."[2] Huius translatione meminit G. Caxtonus in Praefat. ed. tr. Polychronici.'

In the beginning of the nineteenth century Dibdin made an investigation. While delivering a course of lectures on Ancient English Literature at the Royal Institution, he became interested in Trevisa and his Bible. He wrote to his friend, the Rev. J. Hughes, who was resident in the Berkeley family, for information. Part of the letter referring to the Bible is as follows:[3]

'Berkeley Castle,
'Nov. 7th, 1805.

'I take the earliest opportunity of answering yours, having been here but a few days. I have made every inquiry and search respecting the information you want, and am sorry to say it is not in my power to remove the uncertainty you labour under respecting Trevisa's translation of the Bible, notwithstanding, I have the strongest reason to suppose, from circumstances I have met with, that such a translation was made, and

[1] See below, p. cxxvi.

[2] These words by Bale and Pits are the opening words of Trevisa's epistle to Berkeley on translation of *Polychronicon*.

[3] This letter is quoted in full by Dibdin, Ames's *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, pp. 141 ff. Parts are quoted and discussed by Cooke and Rogers, who take the opposite view (see below,

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was even made in the English language, and that it existed in this family so late as the time of James 2nd. The book, translated by Trevisa, was given, as a very precious gift by the lord of Berkeley to the prince (I suppose) of Wales, and the prince's letter thanking the Lord of B. for his gift, I have read: he does not say positively that it was the Bible, but as he hopes (as far as I recollect) to be able to make good use of so valuable a gift, there is reason to suspect that he meant the Bible. The letter is still extant among the archives of the Castle. Lord Berkeley (of whom I have made inquiries in order to ascertain what you wanted if possible) has informed me that the book, given by his ancestors is at present, as he has reason to believe, in the Vatican at Rome. When he was there, several persons had mentioned their seeing such a book written by Trevisa, but he had not an opportunity to go and examine it himself, therefore cannot ascertain that it was the Bible. . . . I suspect all his translations, both from French and Latin were into English; but suspicions won't do for you. I wish it were in my power to give you more certain information.

'Yours very sincerely
'Jno. Hughes.'

Dibdin thinks the opinion started 'from a loose assertion of Caxton in the proheme of *Polychronicon*' (above, p. lxxix). Bale and Pits got their view from this. Then Dibdin adds: 'But upon what authority our printer asserted it, or, if he saw such a translation, why he did not think it at least as deserving of publication as the *Polychronicon*, are questions which may be thought to press hard upon the probability of its existence.'

Townley, writing a few years later, 1821, is not so positive as Dibdin. He goes over much the same ground, quoting him and Wharton, and in addition has this to say in defence of Caxton:

'In reply also to what has been urged against Caxton's assertion of a translation having been made by Trevisa, it is sufficient to remark, that the danger attending the printing of an English Bible in Caxton's time was such, that it would have required the utmost religious intrepidity to have attempted it; and that it is therefore highly probable, that whatever preference our printer might have for the Scriptures, he would not place his life in jeopardy for its publication.'

To show the dangers of printers of this time he gives Sir Thomas More's defence for the printers (*Dyalogus*, fol. 49, col. 1, ed. 1529):

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'That on account of the penalties ordered by Arch. Arundel's Constitution, though the old translations that were before Wycliff's days remayned lawful and were in some folkys handys had and red, yet he thought no prynter would lightly be so hote to put any byble in prent at hys owne charge, whereof the loss should lie wholly on his own necke, and then hange upon a doubtfull tryall whyther the fyrst copy of his translacyon was made before Wycliffs days or synnes. For yff yt were made synnys, yt must be approwed before the pryntyng. But such an approbation was not then to be had.'

In 1839 the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, who devoted most of his life to Biblical research, and who was on the staff of the British Museum, writes thus:[1]

'As no part of this work appears ever to have been published, the translation ascribed to him is supposed to have been confined to a few texts, which are scattered in some parts of his works (several copies of which are known to exist in MS.) or which were painted on the walls of his Patron's Chapel, at Berkeley Castle.'

Forshall and Madden (1850) in the Preface to their Wycliffe Bible,[2] in trying to establish the position of the two versions in respect to time, and that John Purvey was the author of the General Prologue, and also of the second version[3] have this reference:

'Henry Wharton in his Auctarium to the Archbishop's work, which it should be observed, was posthumous and unfinished, truly determined the respective characters and dates of the two versions: rightly giving the earlier to Wycliffe, and the later to the author of the General Prologue, whom, however, he erroneously conjectured to be John Trevisa [Auctarium Historiae Dogmaticae J. Usserii, p. 424 seqq., Auth. Harmer's (Hen. Wharton's) Specimens of Errors on History of Reformation, Lond. 1693, p. 16].'

Babington[4] (1865): 'Of his other translations, that of the Bible, said by Caxton, Bale, and others, to have been made by Trevisa, and possibly still extant at Rome, is the most important on all accounts. It is not, however, certain, though by no

[1] *Manual of Biblical Bibliography*, 1839, p. 66. Noticed by Rogers.

[2] *The Holy Bible, made from Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, 4 vols., vol. i, p. xxi.

[3] See Pollard's view, p. 84.

[4] Higden's *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, vol. i, lv. (Babington refers to Mr. Hughes's letter.)

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means improbable, that Trevisa ever translated the Scriptures at all.' Rogers tells us that William Watt (ob. 1869), head of the printed book department in the British Museum, 'was not aware of any part of the reputed translation having ever been printed, nor did he know of the existence of the MS.' Mr. Rogers's paper on Trevisa appeared in 1870. He was so much interested in the translation that he made some effort to obtain the MS., supposed to be at the Vatican. He concludes the account of his research, not without hope: 'I regret to say that the search has not been attended with success, owing to the very imperfect way in which its contents are catalogued. I can only express a hope that if at a future time a catalogue should be completed some Cornishman may remember that this "last stone" has still "to be turned".'

Cooke, the strongest exponent of the Trevisa translation, wrote two articles, appearing in 1876[1] and 1878,[1] in which, after mentioning the authorities in favour of Trevisa, he attacks Dibdin and Hughes. Dibdin questions Caxton's statement, because he does not give his authority. Cooke defends Caxton thus:

'The truth or falsehood of Caxton's statement, made so soon after Trevisa's time (70 years after his death) would, however, be well known to many persons, and it was not necessary at that period to bring forward proofs or anticipate objections. Had it been false, the Berkeley's, all of whom were good Catholics, would have been only too anxious to clear their Chaplain and themselves from the suspicion of heresy which the charge at that time involved, by denying it. So far from being contradicted, however, Caxton is repeated by every writer of eminence down to the beginning of the present century. Caxton most probably had not access to Trevisa's translation of the Bible, but if he had, he is not likely to have undertaken a publication which would have immediately embroiled him with the authorities. The translation had brought nothing but persecution, toil and trouble to Wyckliff, and its publication soon afterwards cost Tyndale a life of exile and a death at the stake.'

He goes on to say that because Trevisa's patrons were faithful and devoted sons of holy Church, that they would

[1] Account of the Inscription in Berkeley Castle (*Trans. of Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.*, 1876) and Trevisa's Translation of The Bible (*Notes and Queries*, vol. x, 1878).

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not identify themselves with the reforming party by allowing Trevisa's translation to be copied and circulated, and hence it would probably remain confined to the family and household at the castle, for whose use it was made.

In his 1876 article Cooke speaks of a copy or draft of a letter, in the Evidence Room at Berkeley Castle, written by George, the first Earl of Berkeley, addressed to James Duke of York, afterward King James II, in which the Earl begs the Duke's acceptance of 'an ancient collection in Manuscript of some part of the Bible', which he says has been carefully preserved near four hundred years. The name of 'Trevyse' occurs in the letter, though not as the name of the author of the MS., of the real nature of which Lord Berkeley was evidently entirely ignorant. In his 1878 article he tells us that 'this draft or copy is folded up in a sheet of paper, on which is an endorsement by the late W. F. Shrapnell, F.S.A. (who had charge of the Evidence Room down to 1817), to the effect that it refers to Trevisa's translation of the Bible, "since in the catalogue of books in the Vatican of Rome"'. He concludes his 1876 article by asserting that 'there is in the catalogue of the Vatican Library a manuscript of Trevisa's, and if this is not the missing translation of the Bible, it will probably be found at Frascati, as the collection of James II descended to Cardinal York, by whom they are bequeathed to the monastery there.' In 1878[1] he says that inquiries have been made at the Vatican by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, of the Public Record Office, and by Bishop Clifford, but without effect, and also that he has information that there is no such MS. at Frascati, and that numbers of old MSS. have been sold of late years to English and other collectors. He concludes: 'Will any collector into whose hands Trevisa's MS. may have fallen inform us of the fact, and thus set this most interesting controversy at rest?'

The latest to enter the discussion is Alfred W. Pollard, the famous English scholar. His statement is brief, and direct, and on the side of Trevisa. In his Introduction (1903) to the English Garner Collection of *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, as a preface to his two selections, viz. (*a*) Chapter XV of the Prologue

[1] *Notes and Queries* (5th S., vol. x, 5 Oct., 1878, pp. 261–2).

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to the Second Wycliffite Version on Translating of the Bible, and (*b*) John Trevisa's Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk upon Translation, he thinks there is not sufficiently strong evidence, as produced by Forshall and Madden, to prove that John Purvey was the author of the General Prologue and of the second version of the Wyclif Bible. Pollard shows how Caxton first introduced Trevisa's name, as the translator of the Bible; then how Daniel Waterland (1683–1740) 'guessed' and 'pitched' upon Purvey as the author of the second version, partly because he was a noted Lollard, and also because he owned a Bible in Trinity College, Dublin. 'The text', says Pollard, 'is the first version, not the second. Inasmuch also as the manuscript was not completed till 1427, or later, its bearing on the question of authorship of a translation, which had then been in circulation for some thirty years, does not appear to be very great.' He then proceeds to Forshall and Madden: 'Lightly arrived at as it was, Waterland's "guess" was adopted by Forshall and Madden in their fine edition of the two versions published in 1850, and as buttressed up by them with what seems to me a weak additional argument, has ever since been repeated as an established fact.' He sums up Forshall and Madden's arguments thus:

(1) The author of the Prologue is the author of the translation of the Bible;

(2) The Prologue has verbal resemblances to the treatise designated *Ecclesiae Regimen*;

(3) The *Ecclesiae Regimen* resembles Purvey's confession at his recantation in 1400;

Therefore the translator of the Bible is the author of the *Ecclesiae Regimen*, and the author of this is Purvey.

Pollard's conclusion is:

'I must repeat the chain seems to me lamentably weak, and that the resemblances which may be found between Section XV of the Prologue and Trevisa's Dialogue and Letter to Lord Berkeley are stronger, because not arising out of quite such common topics. That they are only to a slight extent verbal resemblances is no drawback. We do not expect a man to repeat his own words exactly. What is interesting is to find two translators both interested in their own methods, and these methods similar.'

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Then again:

'At any rate, William Caxton seems a better authority than an eighteenth-century divine as to the authorship of a translation made only a few years before he was born. We know that Trevisa was what we may call a professional translator, well equipped for his task; and we find him in the preface to the *Polychronicon* discussing the translation of the Bible in a strikingly similar spirit to that in which it is discussed in the Prologue to one of the translations which have come down to us. It is to be hoped that the subject may receive further investigation, and that without the importance of theological bias.'

(10) Biblical Inscriptions on the Walls of Berkeley Castle Chapel.

The best account of these is that of Cooke in 'On the Ancient Inscriptions in the Chapel at Berkeley Castle, with some account of Trevisa'. He also gives specimens of the tracings as they then (1876) existed. These writings have usually been attributed to Trevisa, because in his Dialogue between the Lord and the Clerk, he puts the following words in the mouth of the Lord: 'Also thou wotest where the Apocalips is wryten in the walls and roof of a chappel both in Latyn and in ffrensche.' Fuller[1] has the following reference:

'which Lord (as the said Trevisa observeth) had the Apocalyps in Latin and French, (then understood by the better sort as well as English) written on the roof and walls of his chapel at Berkeley; and which not long since (viz. Anno 1622) so remained as not much defaced. Whereby we may observe, that midnight being past, some early risers even then began to strike fire and enlighten themselves from the Scriptures.'

Smyth[2] writes:

'In urging whereof (i. e. translations) hee bringeth in this lord Thomas instancing his own Chapple in Berkeley Castle wherein the Apocalips is written on the walls and roofe in latin and french: which in this year, 1622, lo yet remaineth, somewhat, but not much defaced.'

[1] Op. cit. Also noted by the Rev. R. Demaus, *William Tyndale*, 1871, pp. 11, 12; also by Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. i, pp. 24–5.

[2] Op. cit., vol. i, p. 343.

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Hughes's letter of 1805, given by Dibdin,[1] mentions this:

'The only vestige of Trevisa remaining here now, are a few fragments of board, with nearly obliterated words of Latin, not sufficient to make out what was meant; the roof of the chapel was said by him to have had the Apocalypse written upon it, and I suspect these fragments to be the remains of it. The beams and wall-plates of the Chapel are still remaining, and after removing several coats of lamp-black, etc., four lines were discovered upon each, written in the old English character, which are alternately Norman French, and Latin. By removing also several coats of whitewash from a part of the chapel wall, a great deal of writing in the old English character was discovered. It was in a great state of decay, but I could make out that part was in Norman French and part in Latin; this is also thought to be in Trevisa's day; but not one certain vestige of him remains here, not even his grave in the church is known, though he is said to have been buried in the chancel.'

Cooke examined the chapel walls, and gives us an interesting description in his paper, 1876. In speaking of the inscriptions, among other things he says:[2]

'They are not mentioned in any of the county histories, and almost all local knowledge or tradition of their nature or origin seems to have passed away. They are portions of the Book of Revelation translated into Norman French by the venerable Trevisa, the first translator of Higden's *Polychronicon*. . . . They are interesting not only archaeologically, as specimens of early decorative religious art, but they possess a high historical value and significance as being one of the earliest attempts to render any part of the Holy Scriptures into the language of Englishmen: one of the first manifestations of that spirit of enquiry to which we owe our present religious and intellectual liberty.

'The Chapel dedicated to St. John is situated in the south-east angle of the inner court-yard, and is generally considered to be of the 14th century. It is 36 feet long by 18 feet wide, not including an arched passage or cloister 3 ft. 4 in. wide which extends along the southern side. The roof is nearly flat and covered with lead. It is supported by heavy tile beams, the spaces between which are divided by the purlius and ridge-pieces into nearly square panels. On the flat part of the sides of all roof-timbers the inscriptions may be traced. The writing, of which there are generally one or two, but sometimes three or four lines on each beam, is in black on a white ground, the initials in red; the lettering is of the kind most in use in the

[1] Op. cit., vol. i, p. 142.

[2] Op. cit., vol. i, p. 138.

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14th and 15th centuries. The beams and timbers seem to have been originally painted white, the spandrels being picked out with red, but the whole has been at some subsequent period painted over black and white. Five centuries of gradual decay and the scarcely distinctive process of ignorant or careless repair have, however, left the inscriptions legible in very few places. On the stone work inside the arched passage I have mentioned a good deal of similar block-letter writing may also be traced, but having been repeatedly white-washed over, it has become totally illegible. Except here the walls have all been plastered, so that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inscriptions originally extended to them, but it is very probable they did.

'The specimens here shown are taken from careful tracings of all that remains legible. Two of the lines are parts of the 12th and 13th verses of the 8th Chapter. In the authorised version in this place we read, "An angel flying", which is here rendered "un egle volant". The Vulgate, however, from which Trevisa probably made his translation, has "aquila", and this reading, supported by many other versions, is received as genuine by most Biblical critics. Trevisa himself tells us that the Apocalypse was here written in Latin as well as French, but the Latin version, probably in another part of the chapel, has now quite disappeared.'

Lewis gives a few of Trevisa's Bible translations, particularly from his translation of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, which were communicated to him by Dr. Waterland. These are:

Matt. xviii. 32. I forgave the al thy det bycause thou praydest me, wicked seruant.

Matt. xxv. 18. The slowe seruant hidde his lordis talent in the erthe.

Matt. xxvii. 19. Moche have I suffred by syghte bycause of him.

Luke xii. 45. My lord taryeth to come.

Luke xii. 46. If a seruant begynneth to drink and is dronken, and smiteth and beateth the meyny his lord shall come.

Luke xix. 13. The nobleman called his seruauntes and bytoke hem ten minas, and he said to these seruauntes marchaundise with it tylle I come.

Luke xix. 16, 17. Lo, Lord, the mina hath made ten minas, and his lorde sayde to him, and be thou hauynge power ouer ten cities.

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II. Original Writings.

(1) Dialogue between the Lord and Clerk on Translation, and (2) Epistle to Lord Berkeley on Translation.

These two short original writings of Trevisa are mentioned by Pits, Bale, Tanner, and subsequent writers, but sometimes spoken of under the *Dialogue* only. They were written as an introduction to the translation of the *Polychronicon*, and are found in the various MSS. usually preceding the *Polychronicon*. They are preserved for us in MSS. Cotton Tib. D. vii, Harl. 1900, Burghley House, Add. 24194, and Stowe 65 (where they follow the *Polychronicon*, ff. 217, 218).

They were first printed by Caxton as prefaces to his edition of the *Polychronicon*,[1] also by W. de Worde and P. Treveris. Both are printed in *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse* (English Garner Collection),[2] but modernized in spelling. Smyth[3] prints about half of the *Dialogue*, beginning with the words of the Lord: 'And yet for to make a sermon of holy writ all in Latin to men that can English and no Latin' (see *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, p. 206), and ends with the words of the clerk: 'Then God grant us grace grathly to gin, wit and wisdom wisely to work, might and mind of right meaning to make translation tresty and true, pleasing to the Trinity, three persons and one God, in majesty that euer was and euer shall be' (*Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, p. 207). The Epistle is printed by Smyth.[4]

The Rev. Jas. Townley printed part of the *Dialogue*, beginning 'The Clerk. The Latin is both good and fair' (*Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, p. 205), and ending, 'and Jerome translated thrice the Psalter' (*Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, p. 207).

[1] Petrie in *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 4, note 5, says: 'He (Caxton) has omitted the dialogue between the translator and Thomas Lord Berkeley on the utility of translation, as well as the first thirty-eight chapters of the first book.' This is a strange mistake of Petrie, especially when he was so careful in clearing up the mistake in dates 1357 and 1387, a few lines before.

[2] *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, Introd. A. W. Pollard. Constable, 1903, pp. 203–10.

[3] *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i, p. 141. Miss Greenwood writes as if the whole were printed, op. cit., p. 504.

[4] Ibid., vol. i, p. 343.

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(3) Latin Pedigree Roll.

This is Roll 102 of Abbot Newlands Rolls (Nos. 97–102) among the muniments of Berkeley Castle. It was written by John Newland, Abbot of St. Augustine from 1481 to 1515, and contains the history of the Berkeley family from Harding. In his Preface he says that he compiled and translated it 'out of Latyn into Englishe'. Mr. Jeayes,[1] who was for years Superintendent of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, and who catalogued the Charters and Muniments of Berkeley Castle, says that Roll 102 'was the original production, if not in the very handwriting of John Trevisa'. Roll 101 is described thus:

'Copy made by W. F. Shrapnell, F.S.A., on Jan. 18th, 1808, of the "Ancient Vellum Roll written by Abbott Newland" in 1489, "part of which he translated from a more ancient roll written in latin by John Trevysa, Vicar of Berkeley" in 1398. Mr. S. adds that both these Rolls are at Berkeley Castle, Abbot Newland's in good preservation, but Trevysa's much injured by time.'

Under No. 102:

'Pedigree (this is the only remaining portion of Trevisa's Latin Pedigree Roll, which formed the foundation of Abbot Newland's Roll (Roll 87) and which as the latter states in his introduction he "translated out of latyn into Anglische") of Berkeley from Thomas, Lord Berkeley (1281–1321) who married Joan Ferres down to 1351. Lat. Vellum, Imperfect at the beginning, mutilated by damp, etc., and the ink much faded; stated to be in the handwriting of John Trevisa (ob. 1412) Vicar of Berkeley, and Chaplain to Thomas, Lord Berkeley; the translator of Higden's Polychronicon and other works.'

(4) Poetry.

Trevisa has placed a poem of twenty-four lines, six stanzas, at the head of his translation of Bartholomaeus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. Prof. MacCracken published this poem, taken from the MS. Harl. 614, fol. 46, in *The Nation*[2] as an illustration of

[1] Isaac Herbert Jeayes, *Desc. Cat. of the Charters and Muniments in Possession of the Rt. Hon. Lord Fitzhardinge at Berkeley Castle*, 1892, Introd. xxxv, p. 293.

[2] July 30, 1908, vol. lxxxvii, No. 2248, p. 92.

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the writer's 'childlike naïveté'. He entitles it 'God me Speed'. The poem stands thus:

A Croys was maked[1] al of reed
In the bigynnyng of my book
That is clepid god me speed,
In the first lessoun that I took.

Thanne I lernede A and B.
And other lettris by her names:
But alwey god spede me
Thoughte me needful in alle games

If I pleyede in feeld or medis
In stillnesse either with noys,
I praiede helpe in alle my deedis
Of him that dyede on the croys.

Now dyuerse pleyes in his name
I shal lete passe forth, and fare
And auenture to pleye o, long game:
But yit also I schal spare.

Bothe wodis, medis, and feeldis,
Places that I haue pleyed inne:
And in his name, that al thing weldis,
This game I schal bigynne.

And pray help, counseil and reed,
To me that he now wil sende,
And this game wel rule and leed,
And bring it to a good ende.

Prof. MacCracken prints a number of poems in *Herrig's Archiv*,[2] under the heading 'Lydgatiana', from MS. Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3. 21. This MS. is of Edward IV's time. Prof. MacCracken thinks that John Stow, the Elizabethan antiquary, wrongly ascribed the poem to Lydgate. He shows that the Trinity MS. was in the possession of Roger Thorney, a citizen of London, and the patron who furthered the printing by Wynkyn de Worde of Trevisa's version of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. The ownership of the MS. by Thorney raises

[1] 'maad' in MS.

[2] *Herrig's Archiv*, Bd. 130, 1913, pp. 286–311.

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an interesting question as to the authorship of the two little childlike 'Prayers at bed and at uprising' which are given below. They markedly resemble in metrical form and in tone the little 'Gǫd me Speed', which Trevisa inserted at the beginning of his translation from Bartholomew. Thorney's interest in this work by Trevisa makes it possible that he had access to some other MS. by that author, from which he had the prayers copied.

The poems printed are:

1. Vita Beate Anne matris Beate Marie Virginis (fols. 221–30), 658 lines.
2. Psalmi Passionis domini (fols. 174ᵛ–7ᵛ), 167 lines.[1]
3. A deuout prayere toward thy bedde at nyght (fol. 276), 24 lines.
4. A deuout prayere at thy vprysyng (fol. 276ᵛ), 32 lines.
5. A Lament of our Lady at The Passion (fols. 276ᵛ–7ᵛ), 120 lines.
6. An Exortacion to auoyde and to put away the seuyn synnes (fols. 275ᵛ–6), 70 lines.[2]
7. A song on the Battle of Barnet (fol. 244ᵛ), 35 lines.
8. The Birds' Matins (fols. 196ᵛ–7), 70 lines.

Nos 3 and 4, assigned by MacCracken to Trevisa, are printed from the *Archiv*.

A deuout prayere toward thy bedde at nyght.

NOW Ihesu lord, Welle of all goodnes,
For þy gret pyte I the pray
Foryeue me all my wykkydnes,
Wherewith I have greuyd the to day.

Honoure & praysyng to the be,
And þankyng for þy yeftys all,
That I thys day receuyd of the
Now, curteyse Cryst, to þe I call.

Thys nyght from parell thow me kepe
My bodyly reste whyle that I take,
And as long as myn eyen slepe
Late my hert in þy seruyce wake.

[1] Prof. MacCracken suggests these two poems seem to be the work of the author of *Magnificentia Ecclesia*, printed by him from MS. in Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Dec. 1909.

[2] This appears more like Lydgate than others (MacCracken).

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For feryng of þe fende oure fo
Foule dremes, and fro fantasies,
Kepe me this nyght fro syn also
In clennes þat I may vpryse.

Saue my good doers fro greuaunce,
And quyte hem þat þey on me spende,
Kepe myne enemyes from noyaunce,
And yeue hem grace to amende.

Mercy, Ihesu, and gramercy,
My body and soule I the beken,
In nomine patris & filii
Et spiritus Sancti, Amen.
Explicit.

A deuout prayere at thy vprysyng.

(*I*)N nomine patris & filii,
Et Spiritus Sancti, Amen,
Mercy, Iesu, and gramercy,
My body and soule I the beken.

Now Iesu lord blessyd þou be
For all þys nyght þou hast me kept,
From the fende and hys postee,
Whether I wakyd or slept.

In grete dissese, in dedly syn,
Many on thys nyght fallen hase,
That mysylf shuld haue fall in,
Had þou not kept me of thy grace.

Lord yeue me grace to þy worshyp
Thys day to spende in þy plesaunce,
And kepe me fro wyked felyschyp
And from þe fendes encombraunce.

Iesu, my tong þou rewle also
That I nat speke but hit be nede,
Hertyly to pray for frend or fo
And harme no man in worde ne dede.

Cryste yeue me grace of mete and drynke
Thys day to take mesurably,
In dedely syn þat I nat synke
Thorough outrage of foule glotony.

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Iesu, my lord, Iesu, my love,
On all þat I am boundyn to
Thy blessyng sende from heuyn aboue,
And yeue hem grace þy wyll to do.

My good Angell, þat art to me sende
From god to be my gouernoure,
From euyl spyrytes thow me defende,
And in my desease be my socoure.
Amen.

Explicit.

Trevisa also appears as a poet in his translation of the poetical parts of the *Polychronicon*. Here he breaks away from his Latin original, and we get in his additions examples of his own poetry. The following occur as taken from the Rolls Series:

Vol. i, Book I, chap. xxxvi, p. 415.

Treuisa. In bookes ȝe may rede,
þat kynde failleþ not at nede:
Whanne no man hadde craft in minde,
þan of craft halp God and kynde;
Whan no techere was in londe,
Men hadde craft by Goddes sonde;
þey þat hadde craft so þenne
Tauȝte forþ craft to oþere menne;
Som craft, þat ȝit come nouȝt in place,
Somme men schal haue by Goddis grace.

Vol. i, Book I, chap. xxxvi, p. 419.

Treuisa. What wight wolde wene
þat a fend myȝt now gete a childe?
Some men wolde mene,
þat he may no werk soche wilde
That fend þat gooþ a nyȝt.
Wommen wel ofte to begile,
Incubus hatte be ryȝt;
And gileþ men oþer while
Succubus is þat wight;
God graunte vs non suche vile.
Who þat in hir myȝt
Comeþ wonder hap schal smyle.
Wiþ wonder dede
Boþe men and wommen sede

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Fendes wyl kepe
Wiþ craft, and brynge in on hepe.
So fendes wilde
May make wommen bere childe;
ȝit neuere in mynde
Was childe of fendes kynde.
For wiþ oute eye
There myȝte childe non such deye.
Clergie makeþ mynde
Deep sleep nouȝt fendes kynde;
But deþ slowe Merlyn,
Merlyn was ergo no gobelyn.

Vol. i, Book I, chap. xxxvi, p. 421.

Treuisa. Siluestris is wood,
Other wilde of mood;
Other elles,
Þat at þe wode he dwelles.

PART III

LANGUAGE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

Introduction.

Trevisa did most of his work as a translator while Vicar of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, during the last half of the fourteenth century. His language is therefore West Southern. Thus have concluded Morris and Skeat, and Emerson, in whose works selections have been given from a pure Southern MS., viz. Cotton Tiberius D. vii. The former, referring to it, says: 'The Cotton MS. (here chiefly followed) has been preferred as preserving the author's own (Southern) dialect.'[1] The selection is taken from the *Polychronicon*, Lib. I, parts of caps. 41 and 59, and Lib. VI, cap. 29 (*Specimens*, Part II, pp. 235–47). Emerson says:

'Our selection is from Cotton Tiberius D. vii, a contemporary MS. in pure Southern. The translator, John Trevisa, was vicar at Berkeley, then Canon at Westbury, Gloucestershire. He

[1] Morris and Skeat, *Specimens of Early English*, Part II, 1889, p. 340. Morris, *Specimens of Early English*, Oxford, 1867, pp. 333–44, contains Book I, chaps. 41, 42, and 59.

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finished his translation in April, 1387, as he tells us. The language is therefore Southern of Gloucestershire in the last half of the fourteenth century. As to language, Trevisa's Southern shows no voicing of initial *f*, *þ*, and *s*, so far as orthography is concerned, but otherwise well represents the dialect. The selection shows *ā* for *hā* (*ha*), besides *hi* (*hy*) in the plural of the third personal pronoun: cf. "Juliana", p. 191.'[1]

His selection is from the *Polychronicon*, Book I, chaps. 58 and 59 (pp. 220–5).

Mr. Babington uses the Southern MS. in his Rolls Series of the *Polychronicon*, beginning its use in vol. ii, designating it in his notes as γ. In his Introduction he gives some description of it:[2]

'In the last printed catalogue (of the Br. Mus.) it is said to be wanting, "Desideratur"; but a note in the copy in the Museum says, "Restored, J. Holmes." It had been seen by T. Smith, who wrote the Catalogue of the Cotton MSS. printed at Oxford in 1696, and afterwards by the Hon. W. Burton in the following century, who annotated the copy in the British Museum. It is likewise mentioned in the Report on the Cotton MSS. after the fire, printed in 1732. The MS. is in quarto, on vellum of 296 leaves, each page containing about 37 lines, and is rubricated and slightly illuminated. It contains, moreover, the Dialogue of Dominus and Clericus, and Trevisa's Epistle to Lord Berkeley. It is injured by fire, though not very considerably; a few leaves, however, at the beginning and end are only partially legible. It would seem to be written towards the close of the fourteenth century, or rather a little later. Some extracts from it have been lately printed in Mr. Morris's "Specimens of Early English", whose book first made me acquainted with its existence. It differs much from the standard MS. and δ (i. e. Cambridge H. 1 and Add. 24194) in the form of pronouns, and preserves in some cases the true text, where they have corrupted it.'

Mr. Lumby, in his study and use of this MS., has this remark:

'Some of the forms in this MS. are extremely strange, and worthy of special notice. In the personal pronouns the favourite forms for the first person singular are *ych*, *ich*, and *y*, and for all genders of the third person singular, as well as for

[1] O. F. Emerson, *A Middle English Reader*, p. 311.

[2] Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, ed. Churchill Babington, vol. ii, 1869, Introd., p. xxxviii.

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the third person plural, the not unusual form is *a*. This is most common for the masculine, and least common for the neuter of the singular. The feminine likewise appears as *heo*, also the neuter *hyt*, and the plural *hy*. The orthography is also peculiar: *v* is very frequently used instead of *f*, indicating the southern character of the MS., but there occur an equal number of instances of the contrary interchange. There is marked preference also shown for forms with the vowel combinations *eo, eu, uy, aa, ee, oo*. The mark of the feminine form in nouns is *as* (as *wolvas*, a she-wolf, *godas*, a goddess), and a frequent form of the plural is *on* (as *roþeron*, oxen). In the words *live* and *have*, the *v* is always represented by *bb* as *lybbe*, *habbe*, and *y* by *gg* in *ligge* for *lay*, and *sigge* for *say*. Preterites and perfect particles have unusual forms, as *leop*, leapt, *ful*, fell (Sth. forms). Now and then we find a word entirely differing from the reading in the text (St. John's MS.) and of a more antiquated character, as *teer*, clean, *fulled*, baptized, *eldede*. lived.'[1]

Mr. Lumby then gives a list of words illustrating the characteristics mentioned.

A complete study of the language of the Cottonian MS. of Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon* has been made recently by Bernhard Pfeffer at the University of Bonn.[2] He uses the selection from Morris and Skeat, also the collections of Babington and Lumby, vols. ii–viii, designated in their notes as γ, and furthermore prints folios 240-60 b of the Cotton MS., occupying pp. 99–144 of his volume. This work has been so excellently and minutely done that I have thought it advisable to study only briefly the vowels and diphthongs in my basic MS., viz. Harl. 1900, and then compare my various MSS. with this, and also with Pfeffer. In doing this I have also listed some of the forms as found in Chaucer's prose,[3] in the London documents,[4] also those by Wiclif,[5] Peacock,[5] and Caxton,[5] and a

[1] J. R. Lumby, *Trevisa's Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, vol. iii, 1871, pp. xxv-xxvii. This passage is quoted by Skeat, *Specimens*, Part II, p. 340, and by Pfeffer in *Die Sprache*, p. iii.

[2] Bernard Pfeffer, *Die Sprache des 'Polychronicons' John Trevisa's in der Hs. Cotton Tiberius* D. vii, Diss., Bonn, 1912.

[3] Johann Frieshammer, *Die Sprachliche Form der Chaucerschen Prosa (Morsbach's Studien zur engl. . . . Phil.*, xlii), Halle, 1900.

[4] Julius Lekebusch, *Die Londoner Urkundensprache von* (1430–1500), Diss., 1906.

[5] I take these forms in the main as given by Lekebusch.

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few as used by Capgrave.[1] Mr. Pfeffer has been most careful to compare the language of the Cotton Trevisa MS. with that of other Southern works, viz. the Katherine Group, as worked out by H. Stodte, *Ueber die Sprache und Heimat der Katherine-Gruppe*, Diss., 1887; Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, F. Pabst, *Die Sprache der Reimchronik des Robert of Gloucester*, Diss., Berlin, 1889; and the Gloucester Legends, E. Mohr, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu den Mittel-engl. Legenden aus Gloucestershire*, Diss., Bonn, 1888.

In the course of this study it will be seen that the Chetham's MS. is distinctly Southern. Stowe 65 has also many Southern characteristics.

The following abbreviations are used in these notes: D = Dialogue, S = Sermon, M = Methodius Tract; in references to MSS., as in my collation notes, viz. H = Harleian, A = Additional, C = Cambridge, S = Stowe 65, Ch = Chetham.

Pf. = Pfeffer's *Die Sprache*, &c. Fr. = Frieshammer's *Chaucer's Prose*. Lek. = Lekebusch, London Deeds, &c. Dib. = Dibelius's *John Capgrave*.

I. Vowels and Diphthongs.

A. *Short Vowels.*

I. OE. i and ī shortened. (Cf. Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 112–15.)

Written i and y.

(*a*) i in closed syllables appears as follows: ȝif D 2/2, miche D 2/1, myche M 110/1, myche D 23/5, over myche M 95/12, wille D 10/14, writ D 5/5, knyȝt D 1/1, þrid M 97/11, pricke D 23/14, whiche D 17/15, schrifte D 11/6. Other examples are: schip, bischops, riht, riȝtful, riȝt, ynne, in, hit, ich, ȝiftes, chirche, bygynneþ, drynke, drynkeþ, fisches.

(*b*) OE. i before consonant groups:

(1) Before -nd: fynde D 31/3, blynde D 6/11, M 96/10, M 110/4, wynde D 6/12, whirlewynde S 89/21.

(2) Before -ng: þing D 2/2, þynges D 2/14, noþinge S 68/27.

[1] Wilhelm Dibelius, *John Capgrave and Die Englische Schriftsprache* (*Anglia*, xxiii, pp. 153, 323, 427; xxiv, pp. 211, 269).

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(3) Before -ld: mylde D 6/23, D 29/2, wild M 105/6, wylde 105/6.

(c) OE. i in open syllables: wite M 96/9, witeþ S 74/2, lyme D 28/9, lordschipe D 8/9, lordschips D 9/8; also lyuyng, likeþ, like, sikernesse, siker, bynymeþ.

Shortened OE. i, in fifty M 97/16, fifþe S 40/3.

Manuscripts.

OE. ȝif always appears as ȝef in Ch; in other MSS. as above. Quite regularly miche or myche appears in H. In S nearly always as myche, in C and Ch as moche. We find it occasionally in A as meche.

Ch has whoche quite regularly for whiche in other MSS. Ch has byschops. In appears as ynne, yn, and in. Hit, hyt, it appear in all MSS. although S prefers it, and Ch hyt.

Iche is found a few times in A and C. I is found once or twice in all the five MSS. in the same place.

ȝeftes is found in Ch, cherche always in Ch, lordschepe in S Ch.

In Cot. MS. y is the prevailing form. There we find wheche, in addition to whiche and whoche. Church occurs near cherch. Fynde is found near veynde (Pf., pp. 6, 7). This last form is not found in the MSS.

In Chaucer OE. i or y is found usually as i (Fr., p. 14), e. g. shrift, briddes, midde, wikked, siker, wyngis, bringith, blynde, etc.

In London documents (Lek., p. 11) third, bryng, middell, child, blynde, also i to e in therd, wete, hedirto, wedowes.

Wycliffe has usually i or y, rarely e or u, Pecock as a rule i (Lek., p. 16).

OE. swilc appears in H as follows: siche D 4/1, D 9/3, D 14/11, M 108/15, soche D 16/12 (S such), seche D 29/3, suche S 42/21. The (1) of above is written such in all the other MSS., (2) such Ch S, (3) soche Ch, seche A, suche C S, (4) soche A Ch. Thus Ch prefers soche, C S suche, while A H have ciche or seche.

Fr. (p. 15) points out that the best Chaucer MSS. have swich; such is not found in Ellesmere MSS., but it occurs in some of the other MSS.; also swiche and syche are found.

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II. OE. y and ȳ shortened. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 127–33.)

This vowel in Midland dialect remains an i or y (Morsbach, *Gram.*, § 7, 2), while in Sth. it becomes u (Morsbach, 9, 2 (*a*), 2). The only MS. which shows Sth. regularly is Ch. We often find u in other MSS.

(*a*) y in closed syllables: first D 9/12, M 95/14, firste S 39/20, myrþe D 26/8, synne D 8/13, S 48/17, knytting D 15/14, y-knitt D 15/3, hilles M 108/13, þilke M 102/5, fliȝt M 103/16, brigges S 48/6, fille D 17/16, Ch vulle, S fulle.

(*b*) Before consonant groups:

(1) -nd: kynde D 16/10, kynde M 105/7, S 41/1.

(2) -ld: buylde M 97/12, buyylde M 98/4, bildyngis S 48/3.

(*c*) In open syllables: bysynesse D 9/2, busy S 47/19, bisy S 47/28, bisiliche S 50/1, euel 22/6, 24/3, S 45/3, buriyng S 42/12, buryeyng S 42/27.

Shortened OE. ȳ, filþe M 96/8.

Manuscripts.

The Chetham MS. is the most consistently Sth. Even it has bildyngis, S 48/3, where the other MSS. (except H) have buldings; S 47/31, all the MSS. (except H) have ybulde. D 9/12 furste A, vurste Ch. D 26/8 murþe Ch S, merþe A C. Brigges in S 48/7 is written brugges in all the MSS. Kynde S 41/1 appears in MSS. as kunde, while the same word in D 16/10 appears as kunde only in Ch. Synne is written in all the MSS. as i or y. The y in busy varied, e, y, or u. Even Ch is not regular in its usage, e. g. S 47/9, H has regular Sth u, while A C have besy, Ch bysy. In S 47/28, H has bisy, while A Ch S have busy. S 48/10 we find S busy, A besy, and Ch bysy. Dude is found in Ch S, while A C have dede, H has almost always dide. Euel is the regular form, but yuel is found C S, D 24/3.

In the Cot. MS. the form is u, hull, sulle, þulke (Pf., pp. 11 ff.). Chaucer has usually y, also i. OE. wyrcan appears as werken, also as wirkynge, etc.; first and furste, knytting and knettynge, bisy, bisily, bisynesse, etc. Regularly yvel, although evil occurs; filthe and felthe (Fr., pp. 16–21). Wycliffe has usually y, yfel, bysig, byldan. Pecock as a rule

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i, bisie, stirid; Caxton has e, in mery, besy, euyl (Lek., p. 16).

III. OE. ŭ. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 121–6.)

Usually written u, sometimes o.

(*a*) In closed syllables: vppon D 3/1, 6/17, sunne M 98/9, somme, some D 6/21, S 52/9, þurȝ M 105/4 (OE. þurh), fulle S 50/30, þus, also ful, fulfilled. This appears regularly as fol in Ch. This is also the form in Cot. although vulle is found (Pf., p. 10).

(*b*) Before consonant groups:

(1) Before nd: wonder D 1/1, S 50/20, vnder D 1/3, ybounde D 14/12, ybounde S 44/12, hound D 19/12. Also hundrid, founden, yfounde, fonded, fonden, fonde.

(2) Before -ng: tonge S 39/16.

(3) Before -rn: ouertorned D 1/2, turne S 39/18.

(*c*) In open syllables: sones M 96/7, sone S 91/5, foules M 97/6, comeþ D 6/23, cupes D 6/14, loue S 52/18, dore (AS. duru) S 89/35.

Manuscripts.

In Ch we find always apon for upon; ful appears as fol in Ch; tonge also written as tunge; turne and torne. Pfeffer (p. 11) points out such forms as teurne and teorneþ in Cotton MS.

In Chaucer OE. ŭ appears as som, sonne, tonne, somme, loove, above (shortened OE. ū), thurgh, thurst, shulder, hound, tonge and tunge, hunger and honger, etc. (Fr., pp. 23 ff.).

In London documents it appears as cup, full, utter, ground, wondre, tonne, hundrid, come, love, sone, cursed. Caxton has tunge and tonge, gunnes and gonnes, further and ferther (Lek., pp. 74 ff.).

IV. OE. ŏ. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 116–20.)

(*a*) ŏ in closed syllables: flok M 105/7, horsis M 105/15, folkis M 101/2, for D 3/3, god D 24/6, goddes D 22/9 (gen. sg.), gospel D 15/16, norþe M 98/13, storm S 89/21, forþe (OE. forþ) D 15/7, D 29/8 (Ch vorþ).

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(*b*) Before consonants:

(1) Before -ld: wolde, nolde.

(2) Before -rn: corn S 60/19.

(3) Before -rd: wordes D 5/2, S 41/25, borde S 89/34.

(*c*) In open syllables: openlich D 8/2, openliche S 50/3, y-tore D 13/3, oxes D 17/9, oxen D 17/10, tohaleþ (OE. hŏlian) D 24/11, bodies M 101/8, bodilich S 46/33, foleweþ D 14/16, D 22/7 (Ch volweþ).

In Chaucer's prose very often the o was long before consonant groups, e. g., soonges, woordes, hoord, foordes, etc. (Fr., p. 21).

In London deeds, the o appears as in our MSS. except u in place of o, in murdre, murdres, murtheres, murthers; also wuld and would appear occasionally, but wolde is the usual form (Lek., p. 64).

Pfeffer points out a form þurste, prt. for OE. dorste; also the form þorste. He also finds the writing before -ld to be o, oo as foold (Pf., p. 8).

V. OE. ĕ. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 106–11.)

(*a*) ĕ in closed syllables: telle D 10/13, wedlock D 14/16, weddinge M 25/1, þraschiþ (OE. þerscan) D 17/15, wrecched D 24/11, reste, nesche D 26/9, beddes D 26/9, elles M 105/3, S 46/1, strenȝþe D 2/3, M 106/14, streeche M 109/15, drenchid M 109/10, berne D 17/16, helle M 109/10, wiþsigginge D 13/3, fecche D 6/18, sillers D 6/25, clerk D 7/5, clerkes D 15/9.

(*b*) e before consonants:

(1) Before -ld: felde D 10/8, selde S 52/8.

(2) Before -nd: ende S 89/15, ende D 21/7, yspend p. past. D 22/11.

(3) Before -ng: Englond, strenger, Engelond.

(*c*) In open syllables: mete, weder, forbedyng, aforbeding, speke, bedemen, bedes, whether.

The only peculiarity to be noted here is the i or y forms in only a few words of our MSS., although Pfeffer points out a number found in the Cotton MS. For a full discussion of this change with numerous examples refer to Morsbach's *ME. Gram.* § 109. The only examples we have are wiþsigginge, sigge,

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and sillers. Sigge or sygge is found usually in Ch, while S has segge; the others usually show seye or saye. Sillers appears in H A and C. C has selleres, Ch has sullers. Pfeffer (p. 5) gives the following with the i or y formes: stryngþe, stringþe, strynger, stringer, drynch, stynch, blynche. Some of these are to be found in the MSS., and have the regular e form. Morsbach (p. 144) puts togidre, togider, among the examples in this list.

Chaucer's prose usually has e: lente, webbe, drencheth. strenges, kembde (OE. cemban), feldes, selde, feeldes; in open syllables: spere, bere, whether. Forms in i occur as dirk and derke (Fr., pp. 8 ff.). The London documents have sette, best, wedde, feld, heuy, weder, beddes, swere, seller, sell (three times sille). Wycliffe has i and e forms.

VI. **OE. ă.** (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 87 ff.)

I. Not before nasals.

(*a*) Closed syllables: asse D 6/18, D 6/24, S 90/19, habbeþ, found only in S and Ch.

(*b*) Open syllables: haue D 1/7, haueþ D 2/12, made D 2/1, D 3/7, make D 3/9, same D 5/16, face M 98/7, tale D 15/6, naked D 26/5, raþer S 43/29.

II. Before nasals:

(*a*) Not consonant groups: man D 1/4, S 89/19, mannes S 91/6, þan S 40/26, þanne S 41/18, from S 51/15 (always vram in Ch, and fro in S), whanne D 5/12 (whan A C S), name, lame, answerde, þankeþ, many (meny A C Ch).

(*b*) Before consonant groups:

(1) Before -nd: lond, londes, hond, hondes, understonde, stonde, wiþstondyng.

(2) Before -ng: stronge, strounge, longe.

(3) Before -mb: wombe S 91/10.

Pfeffer points out (p. 2) that OE. ă before nasals, not consonant groups, is always a in Robert of Gloucester, and in Gloucester Legends, but o in the Katherine group. This vowel behaves in our group of MSS. as it does in the Cotton MS. (Pf., pp. 1, 2). In Chaucer we find the forms þenne and whenne, when. These are not found in our MSS. Neither do

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we find þonne or whonne. Before consonant groups the forms in the Chaucer MSS. vary a or o. In London documents o and a forms are found before consonant groups (Lek., pp. 51 ff.; note his table, p. 53; also Morsbach's *ME. Gram.* § 88).

Fro as found in S is Scand. (Björkman, p. 100).

VII. OE. ĕ. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 95–105.)

(*a*) Closed syllables: þat D 1/7, hadde D 1/8, D 6/12, S 89/6, fadres D 2/11, fader D 7/4, S 51/20, faste, after, spradde, almes. OE. mĕsse appears always, masses D 21/2; in Cot. MS. this appears as mas and messe, Pf., p. 3; Morsbach's *ME. Gram.* §§ 130, 131; crafte, gladnesse, small, togidres D 14/12, D 15/14, togidre M 1/10, M 100/3, togidres S 89/20.

(*b*) Open syllables: water, fader D 7/4, S 51/20, bare. Togedres is found always in Ch, also in S, and occasionally in A. Both forms occur in London documents and Chaucer (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* § 131; *Schriftsprache*, p. 30). The form in Cot. MS. is togedders (Pf., p. 4).

B. *Long Vowels.*

I. OE. ī.

This is written ı or ȳ: tymes D 1/2, D 6/2, tyme D 6/3, S 91/5, wise, wyn, fyue, lif, side, sides, stryue, wyues, wif, wifes, alyue, styȝeuþ, abide, wide, OE. wīfman, wymmen, S 73/9.

The London dialect has womman (sg.), wōmmen, women (plu.), also wȳmen. Chaucer has womman (sg.), wōmmen (plu.); Caxton both forms (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* § 112). The form wĕmmen does not occur in our MSS.

OE. hı̄ appears as hy in Ch, as hey in S, but does not occur in A C and H. There the form þei is always used. The form huy does not occur, but is found in Cot. MS. (Pf., p. 18).

OE. ı is shortened in fifty M 97/16.

II. OE. ȳ.

hyde M 108/12, mynde S 50/30, litel (OE. lȳtel) S 68/22, S 78/12; fyre (OE. fȳr) S 45/2 (fuyre S), fier S 91/10, fuyre S 81/70; huyre S 89/32 (OE. hȳr), hyred D 17/10 (hyre A C, huyre Ch S).

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In Cot. MS. the usual form is uy, although u is very common. Ruþeren S 41/18 (reþeren A, roþeren C S), OE. hrūðeru (sg. hrūðer), also hrȳðeru (sg. hrȳðer). Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, p. 169. *N.E.D.* has only roþeren from OE. hrȳðeren.

III. OE. ū.

It is written ou or ow. These forms are found side by side in the various MSS. souþe M 101/5, foule M 103/6, defouliþ M, mouþe D 17/9, S 90/12, hous D 10/7, down, doun, þousand, aboute, now, how.

But (OE. būtan) appears quite regularly in H A C as but, often in A C as bot or bote, while in Ch it appears almost without exception as bote. In H it occurs as bote. The London speech has the same two forms, ow being the more common (Lekebusch, p. 78; Morsbach, *Schriftsprache*, p. 48).

IV. OE. ō.

Written o and oo. The scribes appeared to have no regular way of writing, as we find the same man using o, with a final e, alongside of oo without the final e. Sometimes the same writer will have both oo and final e. Ch has very often simply o, and no final e.

The form ou for OE. ō does not appear in the MSS. It was quite common in Cotton (Pfeffer, p. 19).

good. sb. D 2/3, anoþer D 6/3, blode D 6/4 (all MSS.), book D 4/12 (all MSS.), soþe D 11/1, soþness D 28/6 (sooþnes A, soþenes C, soþnes Ch), doom D 13/2 (dome C, dom Ch), doome D 15/10 (dome A C, doom S, dom Ch), hook D 31/2 (hoke A, hooc S).

Shortened forms: moneþe S 49/2 in H (monþe other MS.).

In the London documents are found such forms as goodes, footes, blood, doon, also godes, blode. Chaucer's prose has the two forms, occasionally oe, as mone written moene.

In Cot. MS. Pfeffer (p. 19) points out a number of forms in ou, e. g. vorsouk, houk (OE. hōc), hourdom, toules (OE. tōl).

V. OE. ē.

(*a*) Appears as e or ee: feet D 1/3 (all MSS.), hede D 7/7, D 10/15 (heede S), heede D 22/1 (hede A C Ch), hede D 22/1

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(heede S), demeþ D 10/16, deme D 11/8, mede D 17/6, in all MSS. but C med, byhiȝte (OE. hēt) M 101/2. Pfeffer points out (p. 17) a great many examples of this form in Cot. It appears as het, heet, byheet, hyȝte, byhyȝt, hyt, hiȝte, &c., here (OE. hēr), herto, here, herof, hereby. OE. þēs, þese S 51/22 (þues Ch); þues is a common form in Cot. (Pf., p. 29).

(*b*) Shortened ē: kepte, recchiþ, fedde, blessid; OE. hē appears as a in S Ch, otherwise as he.

The writing y in our MSS. does not appear for OE. ē, as it does sometimes in Cot. (Pf., p. 17), neither do such forms as eo, ue in weoþe, wueþe appear (Pf., p. 18).

In the London documents the form is usually e (Lek., p. 30). Chaucer has both forms (Fr., p. 26).

VI. OE. ā. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 134–7.)

The writing in Sth. and Mid. appears as o, oo, in Nth. as a (Morsbach, § 134). Pfeffer, quoting Pabst and Mohr, shows that o, oo is the writing in Robert of Gloucester and the Gloc. Legends; but the Katherine-Gruppe have nearly always a. The London documents have always o, oo (Lekebusch, p. 68). The Chaucer Prose has o, oo (Fr., p. 33).

lore D 6/25, loore S 87/17, stoones D 28/10, stoon D 29/2, stones M 104/8, hooly D 1/8, holy D 2/1, cloþes D 6/21 (all MSS.), cloþ D 23/2 (clooþ AS.), cloþed, cloþinge, loues D 6/14, oon, anoon, aloon, noon, wroþe M 96/17, wrooþe S 58/11, gostlich S 47/26, goostliche S 89/27, oþ S 46/20 (all MSS.). Also smote, abrode, so, lord, liflode, knyȝthode

Pfeffer (p. 14) shows that Cot. MS. has shortened OE. ā written a: halwynge, halwon, haly, hamward.

Pecock has o, oo, e.g. go, goostli, oonli, noon, holy, mo, moost, oon, tho, &c. (Schmidt, p. 4).

The various MSS. seem to have no special rule for o or oo. In D 28/10, stoones H, but stones in other MSS. In D 29/2, stoon H S, but stone A C Ch. D 29/5 stoon in all MSS. but Ch, which has stone.

ON. ā is found in the word fro. This is found frequently in some of the MSS. as D 9/13 (fro A C S, vram Ch).

OE. þās nom. plu. appears as þese, but in S and Ch as þues. þues is one of the forms found in Cot. MS. (Pfeffer, p. 14).

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VII. **OE. ǣ.** (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* § 95.)

It is written e, ee, and gives in ME. open ē (ę̄).

ǣ¹ = Goth ai, Angl. ā͡e.

ǣ² = WG. ā, Goth ē, Angl. ē.

(*a*) The length kept: delere, menyng, neuere, euerche (OE. ǣfre, ǣlc.); found in S always as ech, in A and C very often as euery, but otherwise as eueryche or eueriche.

OE. lǣs, lasse (all MSS.), leche (all MSS.), dedes D 6/26, D 11/9.

(*b*) Shortened forms:

(1) Sh. ǣ¹: wreþþe S 45/20 (OE. wræ̆ðo), wraþþe S, wreþ D 29/12 (wreþþe MSS.), heestes D 6/13, hestes D 13/11 (heestes S). OE. ǣr, er S 48/2 (H S Ch) or (A C). This appears in Cot. MS. as ar (Pf., p. 15).

(2) Sh. ǣ²: drede S 45/7, S 88/25.

Very often in Cot. MS. appears as a (Pf., p. 16).

OE. þǣr, þerfore (always in Ch þarvore; cf. Cot. MS., Pf., p. 16).

OE. hwǣr, where, wherof. This appears very frequently in S as whar. This is not constant. Pfeffer (p. 16) shows that both forms are found for the compounds of þer, in Cot. MS., e.g. þer-inne, þar-inne; þer-fore, þar-fore; þer-fram, þar-vram. In Ch þar is always found alone and in compounds.

OE. ǣnig appears in other MSS. written in the three ways any, eny, ony. In London Charters the proportion is: any 78 per cent., eny 20 per cent., ony 2 per cent. (Lek., p. 35; *Schriftsprache*, p. 44).

OE. ǣ > e, ee, appears in Pecock (Sch., p. 5). In London Charters (Lek., p. 35). For OE. þǣr, hwǣr, wǣron, Wycliffe and Pecock have only e (Lek., p. 37).

OE. æ̆ shortened appears in Pecock as a or e, e.g. neuerthelasse, also neuertheles, sprad (past part.) and spred, radde and red, past part. (Schmidt, p. 6). London Charters have e (*Schriftsprache*, p. 44; Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, § 96, 2 b).

Chaucer has generally a, but always slepte, mente, lente, and occasionally dredde, y-spred for usual dradde, spradde (Sch., p. 6). Lesse occurs oftener than lasse (ten Brink, §§ 50, 106).

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C. *The Short Diphthongs.*

I. Breaking and i-umlaut.

(*a*) OE. ea before r + cons. : harme D 23/14, hardere S 51/10, mask S 91/27, armes S 89/21, afterward M 94/11.

(*b*) i-umlaut of ea in WS. = ie, y, i, in Ang. e (Bülbring, 179 a 1) vyngerde D 10/8. Pecock, London Charters, Chaucer have gerd (*Schrift.*, p. 50, ten Brink, Par. 48).

(*c*) OE. ea before l + cons. : also, alle, al, holdeþ, olde.

(*d*) OE. ea before h, h + cons. : eigte S 39/15, ligt M 95/11.

(*e*) i-umlaut of ea before h, h + cons. = in WS. ie, early WS. i or y (Bülbring, 179): mygt D 5/3, D 6/26, nygt 52/28, S 89/1.

(*f*) OE. eo from e before r + cons.: werk D 17/6 (work in all other MSS.), werkes D 20/9 (workes only in S). The London Charters have werk; Pecock has werk (Sch., p. 12). Herte M 96/17, S 47/11. This is the regular writing in all the MSS. Pecock has herte, also London Charters, although Lekebusch points out the modern form hearts (Lek., p. 28).

Derk D 1/5, in all MSS.

Worschip D 1/8 (always written werschip in S); D 10/6, written o in all MSS. except S, which is werschip. The regular form in Cot. MS. is o (Pfeffer, p. 32) influenced by the preceding w.

Erþe D 5/14, 6/6 (eorþe Ch), D 7/12 (eorþe Ch), D 10/5 (eorþe Ch); also berke, berkyng, swerde; sweord is found in Cot. MS. (Pf., p. 22), lerned D 18/13 (lurned Ch, leurned S); Pf., p. 22, points out a number of these forms with u and eu in Cot.; worthi S 43/24. This is the regular form. (See also Pfeffer, p. 32.)

The form in Chaucer is e, although workes, workmen is found (Fr., p. 12).

(*g*) OE. eo before l + cons. : OE. seolf, sielf, sylf (Siever's *Cook Gram.*, p. 52); hymsilf D 3/7 (self A C), hymsilf D 5/10 (self A C, sulf Ch); mylk M 101/10. The three forms are found throughout the MSS. Ch favours the u. Pecock has silf, London Charters and Chaucer self.

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II. The u- and o/a-umlaut.

(*a*) OE. eo, u-umlaut of e: heuene D 8/6, D 10/5, world D 3/2, D 4 14.

(*b*) OE. eo, u-umlaut of i: siluer D 27/5; M 104/8. London Charters has forms as selver (*Schrift.*, p. 54). In D 27/5 the reading in Ch S is selver. Björkman (p. 112) thinks the form silver (OE. silfor) in Midland dialects may be influenced by OW. Scand. silfr, while selver, the regular form (OE. siolfor, siolufr, seolfor) depends on u-mutation. The form in Cot. MS. is selver (Pf., p. 26).

III. Effect of Palatals in Short Diphthongs.

(*a*) OE. ea (WG. a): schal D 6/1, S 41/23 (Pf., p. 23, finds shal in Cot.), schalt D 4/11, schal S 14/17, ȝaf D 7/13 (all MSS.).

(*b*) OE. ie: ȝeue D 2/2, D 4/13, ȝeueþ D 2/2, yȝeue, forȝeue, ȝeldiþ D 21/16. OE. ȝiet, ȝit appears as ȝitt, ȝit, or ȝut, also rarely as ȝet. S 48/33, ȝitt in H A C, but ȝut in S Ch; ȝett S 50/34 in H, but ȝit A C, ȝut S, ȝet Ch; ȝit S 51/21, ȝut S Ch. Pecock has ȝit always (Schmidt, p. 13), Chaucer yet in Ellesmere, but other MSS. write yit or yitte (Fr., p. 11). The London Charters have ȝeve, I-yeuen, yeten, geten, yet (*Schrift.*, p. 56). Some writers place ȝif in this list, e. g. Frieshammer (p. 11) has OE. ȝief, ȝif appears as yif and if in Chaucer's prose; always if in Pecock (Schmidt, p. 13), as yyf (yf) in London Charters (*Schrift.*, p. 56).

D. *The Long Diphthongs.*

I. OE. ēa (Gothic au).

Grete D 1/8, D 6/26, D 11/1, S 45/31. This is written in some of the MSS. greet, and quite often in Ch as gret. Breed D 6/14, brede S 45/29, deþ D 6/15, deþliche D 7/14, dede, deed, ȝere, heiȝþe (WS. hēahðo), neiȝ (see under ēa+g, h), deef, vnneþe, heyȝ (hiȝe A C S, hys Ch) (see under ēa+g. h).

Shortened ēa: chaffre (OE. cēap) S 45/28, grettest S 46/2. This diphthong appears in Cot. MS. as above (Pfeffer, p. 27). Pecock writes it as e, ee (Schmidt, p. 14).

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II. i-umlaut of ēa.

Herde (p. part.) S 48/4 (I-herd A C, y-hurd S Ch); here inf. S 47/31 (huyre A S Ch), here inf. S 49/28 (huyre S, hyre Ch), here inf. S. 51/8 (hire A C, huyre S, hiyre Ch). In Cot. MS. the following forms appear: hiere inf., hurde, yhurd, huyreþ, hyre, hyryng (Pfeffer, p. 25).

III. OE. ēo.

Fredom D 2/3; this is written freodom in Cot. MS. (Pfeffer, p. 28). Beþ D 2/4 (buþ Ch), beþ S 51/3 (buþ Ch); this always occurs as buþ in Ch, rarely so in S, otherwise as beþ or beeþ; once in H we find be, once in H buþ D 33/8. The usual form in Cot. MS. is buþ, although beþ is found also (Pf., p. 30). Nediþ D 3/9, needip D 14/12 (neodeþ Ch); nedes, nedeful D 16/13 (nedful A S, nedfol Ch), nede D 29/7 (neode Ch). This is written in both forms in Cot. MS., nedeþ and neodeþ (Pf., p. 30); nedfol and neodfol, nedy and neody are also found; fendes D 6/12, deueles D 6/16, prest D 10/2 (preost A C Ch), D 32/1, prestes (preostes Ch, pruestes S), pruest is found in Cot. (Pf., p. 28); lese D 21/7 (luese Ch S). Pfeffer, p. 28, lists a number of forms in u and ue, e. g. luse, luseþ, luf, luver, luesyng; leese D 32/16 (lese A C luese, Ch S). þeeues D 11/13 (þueues Ch); the form þueues is common in Cot. MS. (Pf., p. 28), þeeues D 30/6 (þefes A C S, þueues Ch), þeefþe D 14/2 (þefte A C, þuyfthe Ch, þefþe S); frendschip S 49/19, frendes S 90/27, teþinge S 45/28 (tiþynge A C, also tiþinges and tueþinges A), chesiþ, fendes, ferþe (fourþe A C, veurþe Ch), frelich. OE. sēoc, sīoc appears as seke (sike, syke in A C Ch), sekenesse (siknes MSS.). This appears in Cot. MS. as syyk and syk (Pf., p. 29). OE. hēom appears in all the MSS. except Ch as hem. In that MS. always as ham.

E. *Short Vowels and Spirants.*

(1) OE. a+ȝ: lawes D 1/2, lawe, 2/8, wiþdrawing D 5/13.

(2) OE. æ+ȝ: dayes, sey, seyn (seiþ A C, syggeþ Sh). Forms as sey are usually written thus or seie in all MSS. except Ch (sygge), and S (usually segge); also forms such as seiþ, iseye (ysegge S), seide are found.

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(3) OE. e+ȝ: wey, weyes (weyȝes Ch).

(4) OE. i+ht: almyȝty.

(5) OE. o+h: þouȝt, douȝtres, wrouȝt, brouȝt. Both forms nouȝt, noȝt are found in MSS. S is fond of noȝt. Not is found frequently in A C.

(6) OE. o+g: bowes.

F. *Long Vowels and Spirants.*

(1) OE. ā+ȝ: owne, always oune in Ch.

(2) ǣ+ht, ǣ+g: tauȝt, eiþer, eþer, keyes (OE. cǣg).

(3) ō+h, ȝ: ynowȝ (inow in MSS.).

(4) ē+ȝ: twey, tweyne.

G. *Diphthongs and Spirants.*

(1) OE. ea+h, ht: seyȝ (OE. seah, seigh A, sigh C, syȝ Ch S). (Bülbring, *Abl.*, pp. 67 ff.)

(2) i-umlaut of ea+ht (see above under C, short diphthongs).

(3) ēa+ȝ, h: neiȝbores (neyȝhebors A Ch), heyȝ (hiȝe A C S, hyȝ Ch), heiȝeste, heiȝlich, neiȝ.

OE. þēah: þouȝ (þeigh A C, þey S, þeyȝ Ch). This appears in Cot. as þey, þeyȝ (Pf., p. 36). These latter are Sth. forms, while þouȝ is Nth. (O. Icel. þō). For full discussion of this word see Björkman, pp. 72–3.

(4) ēo+h, ht: liȝtliche, aliȝt.

H. *Vowels and Diphthongs+w.*

(1) ā+w: noþer (or nāwþer), soules, knowleche, knowiþ, soweþ, ouȝt, slowe (OE. slāw).

(2) OE. ō+w: yblowe (past part.).

(3) ēa+w: fewe, schewe, schewide, schewid.

(4) OE. ēo+w: ytrowe, trewe, trowe, truliche, trewemen, truþe (trewþe S), trowynge, trowiþ, newe.

(5) OE. ǣ+w: lewed.

II. Consonants.

(1) OE. c appears generally as ch and k.

(*a*) Initially: chirche, chaffare, chese.

(*b*) Medially and finally: þecchiþ, leche, rychesses, þenke, myche, berke, knowleche, -liche; ech found in S; also such, siche.

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In the Norse words take and siker, k is kept.

(2) OE. sc: schal, schulde, schueleþ, worschippe, flesche, schame, schewe, bischop (in some of the MSS. bisshop), fische; sk is found in aske (often written axe).

(3) OE. ȝ initially: ȝeue, ȝiftes, ȝou, ȝoure, ȝeldiþ, ȝit, ȝet, ȝut, ȝif, ȝaf, ȝere, vynȝerde, aȝenes; g in bygynnyng, bygynne.

OE. cȝ: brigges.

(4) OE. f initial, always appears as f in four of the MSS. H A C S, but as v in Ch. Compare this with Cot. MS. (Pf., p. 72).

(5) OE. þ, ð. þ is written for initial d in dewe S 44/19, S 45/26, in S. In S 51/1, for dewe in H A C, we find þewe in S Ch. Also in S 50/20, for dar H, durre A C, we find þere S and þurre Ch.

III. Loan Words.

French.

Distruyed, distruye, distrie, distried, rule (reule Ch, rewle A S), despised, noble, gouerne, money, cosyns, forme, scornes, denye (denyue Ch), sotil, princes, vicarie, preue, preues, douteþ, crowned, expowne, cuntrey, huge (OF. ahuge or ahoge, hoyge S), huge, foly, pore (poure A Ch), socour, toure, soudeyn, grucchying, grucchiþ (OF. groucier), chaungide, statutes, maner, chalengide, catel, ordinaunces, passion, sauter, naciouns, sacrifice, praye (preyre S in D 2/1), counseil (counsail A C Ch S), ordeyneþ, yordeyned, eyr (heire C S), (OF. heir, eir), dewe, choys, feeste, palys, wasters, pale, state, dampned, chastee, caases, matrimonye, wages, ensaumple, sclaundre, secunde, felony, reson, preche, beestis, Empyre, Emperour, mageste, maieste, heritage, rehersed, relef, medleþ, secular, noyse, seynt, plede, pleyn, fayled, pees (AN. pes, OF. pais), apaide, paye, suffriþ, suget, ducherye, peple, auctorite, caucioun, cause, bobans (OF. bobance, boub-, beub-, bueb-, bub-, -anche, Godefroy, also *N.E.D.*), D 21/3, bobaunce A C S.

Spouses S 71/6 (OF. espūse), spouse-bruch S 57/19.

Old Norse.

Boþe (ON. Scand. baðir—Skeat, *N.E.D.*, Sweet), Björkman says 'may perhaps—at least in part—quite as well

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be derived from OE. ba þa' (p. 108), cf. Einenkel, *Anglia*, 27/43. Cros, OIr. cros from ON. kroos (*N.E.D.*); dye, ON. deyja, Björkman, p. 66, 'may be English as well as Scand., but is probably Scand.' (See Dial. Prov., pp. 12 ff.). Wyndes (ON. vengr); þouȝ, see above, p. cxlix; prout, from AS. prut, according to Skeat and *N.E.D.*; Skeat thinks Icel. pruðr borrowed from AS.; ytake, wrong, cast; skyn (ON. skinn); þralles (Icel. þraell); skyle (ON. skil); same (ON. samr); meke (ON. miuk-r) —*N.E.D.*; birþe; fro—see above, also Björkman, p. 100.

IV. Inflections.

Nouns.

OE. endings have disappeared, except e. The use of final e is not regular. Very often, however, we find the vowel indicated long by a doubling or by use of final e, e.g. dome in A C Ch, but in S doom. The scribe in S is very fond of doubling the vowel, where the other MSS. have a single vowel with a final e. In mouþe, ac. case, mas., we find a final e in H C, but no final e in A Ch S.

There are a few OE. fem. noun-stems, where the e is kept: synne, myrþe, lore, loore, strengþe, helle, mede, filþe, dede, teþinge (near teþing).

In the following fem. stems the e is absent: nyȝt, world, also worlde, book. The e is found in the masc. and neut. nouns: wiche, wynde, felde, kynge, ȝere, name, lame, weye, also way.

Genitive sing. ends in es, is, his, hys; is is very common in H and sometimes in A; hys is the usual form in Ch; kyngis H, kynges C, kyng hys Ch, Cristis H, Cristes A C, Crist hys Ch, Crist is S. Near by we find Cristes in all MSS. except Ch, which is as above.

These examples are from H: Alisaundres bille, eny freres persone, goddes lawe, almes dede, John de Palliaco hys, Pope Martyns maundment, Seynt Austyns bokes, a manes soule, curatours oxe, bischops bischopriche, Zebedeus sones, þe apostels decre, Sathanas hys angel.

We find a few cases of gen. sing. without ending: in her fader hous, under fader & moder keping, children frendes, in

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þe fader riȝt side. We find þe oxes mouþe (oxe hys Ch, oxe is S).

The plural ends in s, is, es. Is is very common in H; s is found in Fr. nouns. Þingis, foules, þeeues, bedes, teþingis, weþeres, fadres & modres, ladyes, resouns, parischons, curatours, statutes, medycyns, persons, also persones, studies, frere prechours.

Weak plurals: children, ruþeren, oxen.

Umlaut plurals: feet, teeþ, wymmen.

Adjectives.

In the weak inflection, in H the final e is often retained, in Ch it is usually lost; his owne coste, þe olde testament (oolde S), by gode entent (final e should not be retained), near by is þe good entent (lost where it should be kept), goode Ch S, þe fader riȝt side.

In the strong declension, H is more careful to hold the final e: grete (gret Ch), siche, seche ȝiftes (such Ch), alle his dedes (all C, al Ch), alle gentil men (al Ch), alle (al Ch), alle (al A C, all C), oþer mysdoers.

The adjectives before noun: parisch chirche, bodiliche leche, verreiliche suspecioun, hardere conclusioun, esyere way, raþer lif, þe raþer lawe, schrifte fader, mo damages, in þe whiche bokes, verey begger, eerþe tilyers, on alle halwen day, forme fader & moder, priuy riches.

The adjective after the noun: desauauntage greuous & huge, in all þe worlde wide, lawe ċiuil, a noble librarie and a grete, lawe canoun, wiþ smale ȝiftes and gileful, mynystre general.

Predicative adj.: þei beþ vnobedient & vnbuxom, he is vnclene.

Comparison of adj.: esyere way, hardere conclusion, þe lasse siker, heiȝeste, grettest.

Numerals and ordinals: þre, oon, ferþe, twey, tweyne, þre quarters, þritty þousand, þe þre ferþe deles of profits, secunde, nynþe.

Adverbs and Prepositions.

Adverbs in e: vnneþe, ful selde.

Adverbs in liche: wilfulliche, onlich, scharplich, slyliche, wilyliche.

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Adverbs in es: ones a ȝere, went þennes, togidres.
Prepositions: wiþouten ende, wiþoute end, tofore, wiþoute.

Pronouns.

Personal Pronouns.

First Person Sing. Nom.: ich (iche A), y or I frequently found in all five MSS, also ich.
Gen. Sg.: myn, my.
Acc. and Dat. Sg.: me.
Nom. Plu.: we.
Gen. Plu.: oure.
Dat. Acc. Plu.: us.
Second Pers. Sing. Nom.: þou.
,, ,, ,, Gen.: þi, þyn.
,, ,, ,, Dat., Acc.: þee.
,, ,, ,, Plu., Nom.: ȝe.
,, ,, ,, ,, Gen.: ȝoure, (ȝowre A).
Third Pers. Sing. Masc. Nom.: he (a in S).
,, ,, ,, ,, Gen.: his.
,, ,, ,, ,, Dat., Acc.: hym.
Third Pers. Sing. Fem. Nom.: heo (sche A C, hue S).
,, ,, ,, ,, Gen.: her (here MSS., hire C).
Third Pers. Sing. Neut. Nom.: hit (it C S).
Third Pers. Plu. all Gend. Nom.: þei (a Ch S), þei (hy Ch, hey D), usual form.
Third Pers. Plu. all Gend. Dat., Acc.: hem (ham Ch).
Demonstrative Pronouns: Sing. þis, Plu. þese, þose.
Relative Pronouns: þat, what, who, whos, to þe whiche.
Interrogative Pronouns: who, what.

Verbs.

Strong Verbs.

Class I: ywrite (p.p.), he droof (past), writen (Iwrite MSS.).
Class II: he fly3 (past), lese (luese Ch S) (inf.).
Class III: ybounde (p.p.), fynde (inf.), bynde (inf.), yholpe (p.p.), ye ȝeldiþ.
Class IV: comeþ (3rd sg. pr.), bynome (p.p.).
Class V: yseye (p.p.), we ȝeueþ (pres.), ȝeuen (p.p.), (iȝeue

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MSS.), ȝaf (3rd sg. past), seyȝ (3rd sg. past) bade (3rd sg. past), bade (3rd plu.), siȝ (3rd sing. pret.).

Class VI: louȝ (past) (lowȝ A, lowȝe C), stonde (pr. inf.), vnderstonden (p.p.), take (pr. inf.), ytake (pr. part).

Reduplicated Verbs.

yholde (p.p.), hoote (pr. inf.), holdeþ (3rd pres.), he feng, yblowe (p.p.), yhote (p.p.), we soweþ, het (A C Ch, heet S) (past 3rd plu.), ye fang.

Weak Verbs.

Past in d, de: ich herde, turned (turnde Ch, ede S), he rered, answerede (3rd sg.), kynges ordeynede, likide (ede MSS) (3rd plu.), correctide (3rd plu.), blamede, erride, he helde, beggide, iseide, yschewide, hit oblegide, þei hadden, þei procuride, procurede, synnede (3rd plu.).

Past in t, te: lefte (3rd past), sente (3rd plu.), Ich sent.

Past participle in d: chalengide, scorned (yscorned Ch), seide (iseide A C S), schewide (yschewed MSS.), chambred, ordeyned, longide, apassed, praysed, apaide.

Past participle in t: torent (torend A Ch S), yknytt.

Present Tense.

1st sg.: trowe, clepe.

2nd sg.: knowest, þou herest.

3rd sg. in eth and ith: takiþ, nediþ, douteþ, haþ, þe kniȝt spekiþ, schewiþ.

Plural: þei denyeth, we takiþ, ȝe speakiþ, ȝe knowiþ, we suffriþ, þei ordeyneþ, ȝe accounteþ, þei spekiþ, we repe (ripeþ S).

Imperative: deme, war, clepe, denye.

Infinitive: to afferme, destruye, ordeyne, fele.

Present participle: begginge, on kunnyng.

Preteritives and Anomalous.

OE. sculan: yschal (pret. plu.),, schulde, ȝe schal, þei schul, þou schalt, we schal, þei schulleþ, þei schul, alle þinges schulle.

OE. willan: ich wole, þei wole, no suche wolde, he wole, þat wole (3rd sg.), ich nolde, þei wolde, we wolde, ȝif þou wolt, ȝe wolleþ.

OE. bēon: beþ (3rd plu.), þou art, ich am, ffor þe wordes beþ.

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OE. magan: þei mowe, þei myȝt.

OE. dōn: ydo (past part.), he dide (dude, dede), Christ doþ, þei þat doþ, þou dost (past part.), may be do (pres. inf.), doo (past part.), haþ do.

OE. durran: freres dar, no man dar telle.

V. Remarks on the Manuscripts.

In Ch, OE. f appears initially as v. Examples are: vurst, veyr, vale (fale), vul (full), vewe (few), vorme, vuyr, vysch, vede (feede), voure, vedeþ, vor, veet, vendes (fiends), vyf (fyue), vader, volwe (follow), vram, veng, valleþ, vorþ, vreodone, vechche (fetch), vleysch, vort (forto). The origin of v is the Southern (east) dialect. This v occurs a few times in the London dialect, and Morsbach finds it once in the London documents.[1] S has v only once in vluys (fleece). H S Ch write values, while A C have falues.

C writes th for þ in a few words: dooth, sooth, seith, the, deth (also in A once), thynke, worth, month, also þuyfthe (Ch), þuefthe (Ch), seþthe (Ch).

Peculiar Spellings.

Cwypes (S), ȝuede (S), ȝede and ȝude in other MSS., neode (always in Ch), hue (for her in S). In S and Ch a doubling of ch: þraychcheþ, rechcheþ, gruchcheþ, rychchest, luese (always in S and Ch), oerþe (once in S).

Verbal endings—ith, eth, ist, est, ide, ede, in H.

Schmidt in his study of Pecock (p. 34) found the following rules obeyed:

(1) The terminations est, eth, ed are added to verbal stems ending in i, u, m, n.

(2) If the stem ends in l, r, ȝ, g, d, this orthographical rule is not so strict.

(3) If the stem ends in another consonant, i alone is found in the termination.

[1] Royster, J. F., *A Middle English Treatise on the Ten Commandments*, p. xix, where he refers to Sweet, *Short Historical Grammar*, p. 189, and Morsbach, *Schriftsprache*, pp. 103, 158.

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The scribe of H does not adhere closely to these rules, except in case of No. 1, as the following examination of the *Dialogue* shows:

(1) ouertorned, ordeyneþ, haueþ, weneþ, ordeyned, comeþ, serued, occupied, crowned, ȝe striueþ, demeþ, begynneþ, semeþ, likneþ, gouerneþ.

(2) chaungide, chalengide, suffriþ, nediþ, holdeþ, heled, fulfilled, traueiliþ, medliþ, longeþ, wolleþ, falleþ, nedeþ, nediþ, longide, trauailiþ, ruleþ, erride, stireþ.

(3) þow knowest, spekiþ, ȝe knowiþ, douteþ, schewide, rehersed, spekiþ, knowiþ, likeþ, touchiþ, foleweþ, axeþ, schewiþ, worschipeþ, soweþ, þraschiþ, schewide, likide, correctide, wakiþ, makiþ.

This is a Wycliffe characteristic, and places this MS. H farther North than the others.

CORRIGENDA

p. 2, l. 28. *Read* What euer
p. 3, l. 21. *Read* resceiued
p. 11, l. 7. *Read* synne
„ l. 31. *Read* ouerthrowen
p. 13, l. 14. *Read* Euereche
„ l. 29. *Read* Euerye
p. 15, l. 13. *Read* dispreues
p. 18, l. 17. *For* it *read* is
„ l. 30. *For* the (1) *read* this
„ l. 31. *Read* euerye
p. 19, l. 28. *Read* awake
p. 21, l. 20. F. 14 b *begins with* peude
p. 22, l. 25. F. 15 b *begins with* to
p. 24, l. 18. *Read* sklaunder
p. 25, l. 30. *Read* manyfestlye
p. 31, l. 31. *Read* lewde
p. 34, l. 25. *Read* beryue
p. 46, l. 24. *Read* probable
p. 47, l. 14. *Read* Prouerbiorum
„ l. 20. *Read* clereliche
p. 48, l. 32. *Read* hym-silf
p. 49, l. 1. *Read* principle
p. 49, l. 7. *Read* freres, is y-holde ones a ȝere
p. 54, l. 29. *Read* bitake
p. 55, l. 8. *Read* mysuse
p. 56, l. 26. *Read* biheestes
p. 57, l. 16. *Read* oure
p. 62, l. 4, p. 63, ll. 12, 32. *Read* Mathei
p. 70, l. 30. *For* spouese *read* spouse
p. 72, l. 22. *Read* fyue
p. 77, l. 27. anslauȝt. *Note:* AC *read* manslauȝter
p. 85, l. 30. *Omit* so
p. 86, l. 20. *Read* ȝaf
p. 87, l. 7. *For* his (2) *read* þis
p. 95, l. 5. *Read* in
p. 96, l. 24. *Read* warld
p. 99, l. 3. *For* gaftis, men *read* craftis men
p. 101, l. 19. *Read* tabernakyls
„ l. 26. *Read* to þaim of þaim-selfe
p. 108, l. 2. *For* þei *read* & þei

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PART I

DIALOGUS INTER MILITEM ET CLERICUM

Harl. 1900

Cl*er*icus. Ich wondr*e* Syr Noble Kny3t þat in fewe dayes, Fol. 1a
tymes beþ chaungide, ri3t is y-buryed, lawes beþ ou*er*torned,
& statutes beþ y-trode vnd*er* feet.

Miles. Ich am a lewed man & may nou3t vnd*er*stonde sotil
& derk speche; þ*er*fore þou most take more pleyn man*er* of
spekyng.

Cl*er*icus. In my tyme ich haue y-seye þ*at* kynges & p*r*inces
hadde hooly chirche in grete worschip, & now y se þe contrary

---

A DIALOGVE BETWENE A KNYGHT AND A CLERKE CONCERNYNGE THE POWER SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORALL

Printed by Thos. Berthelet.

Clericus. The clerke begynneth to speke on this wyse 2a
sayenge:

Clericus. I wounder syr noble knyghte that in fewe dayes, tymes be changed, right is buryed, lawes be ouerturned, and statutes be trodde vnder foote.

Miles. Those wordes passe my capacite, I am a lewde man; and thoughe I wente to schoole in my chyldehode, yet gotte I not so profounde lernynge that those youre wordes can of me be vnderstande. And therfore worshypfull clerke, if ye desyre to haue communication with me, ye must vse a more homely & playner fascion of spekyng.

Cle. I haue sene in my time that, Kinges princis and all other nobles, haue had the churche in right great worshyp; and nowe I se the contrary, the churche is made a pray to you

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The clerk tells the knight that the Church is not worshipped by kings and princes as of old.

þat holy chirche is made praye to ȝou alle, miche[1] is chalengide[2] of vs & no þing is yeve us. ȝif we ȝeueþ nouȝt, hit is y-take of vs wiþ strenȝþe, oure good & [3] catel is distruyed, lawes & fredom[4] beþ nouȝt y-holde but dispised & wiþseide.

In the King's Council are bishops.

Miles. In þe Kyngis[5] counseil beþ bischops.[6] Y trowe nouȝt liȝtliche þat þe Kyng & his counseil wole do ȝow wrong, noþer distruye ȝoure lawe.

Clericus. Aȝenus al maner lawe we suffriþ wrong.

Miles. What clepe ye lawe?

Law is decrees of Holy Fathers.

Clericus. Ich clepe lawe þe statutes & [7] ordinaunces of bischops of Rome & decrees of holy fadres.

Bishops have no power to make laws over things over which they have no control.

Miles. What þei ordeyneþ or haueþ y-ordeyned tofore þis of temporalte, may wel be lawe to ȝou but nouȝt to us. No man haþ power to ordeyne statutes of þynges ouer þe whiche he haþ no lordschip. As þe kyng of Fraunce may ordeyne no statutes

[1] Money C.
[2] chaunged S.
[3] & our S.
[4] *blotted* Ch: fredoms S.
[5] Kyng hys Ch.
[6] byschs Ch: bischopes & prelates S.
[7] and þe C Ch.

---

2 b all,* and many thynges are challenged of vs, and nothynge is gyuen vs. If we gyue not oure goodes, they be taken frome vs by stronge hande, our good and catalle is distroyde, our lawes and fredome be not holden, but dispysed and withsayde.

Miles. I can not lyghtly beleue, that the Kynge (of whose counsayle they of the clergie be) wyl deale vniustly with you, nother distroye your lawe.

Cleri. Yea trewely agaynst all lawe, we suffre innumerable wronges.

Miles. I wolde fayne knowe what ye calle lawe.

Cleri. I calle lawe the statutes and ordinances of bysshops of Rome, & decrees of holy fathers.

Miles. Whatever they ordeyn, or other have ordeyned in tyme past of temporaltie, may well be lawe to you, but not to vs. For no man hath power to ordeyne statutes of thynges,
3 a ouer the whiche he hathe no lordeshyp.* As the kyng of Fraunce may ordeyne no statutes vppon the empyre, nother the emperour vpon the Kynge of Englande. And lykewyse as

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vppon [1] þe Empyre noþer þe [2] Emperour vppon þe Kyngdom [3] of Englond. And also princes of þe world may ordeyne no [4] statutes of ȝoure spiritualte, for þei [5] haueþ no power ouer [6] ȝoure spiritualte. Also ȝe mowe ordeyne no statutes of temporalte, ouer þe whiche ȝe haueþ no power noþer auctorite; þerfore ich louȝ wel faste, whanne ich herde telle þat Pope Bonefas hadde made [7] a newe statute, þat he hym-silf schuld be aboue alle secular lordes, princes, kyngis, & emperors, & aboue alle kyngdoms & make lawe vppon alle þinges, & þat him nediþ nouȝt but write, for alle þinges schulle [8] be his whanne he haþ y-write. For to make a statute [9] is nouȝt elles but wilne þat þe decre be y-holde & ordeyne & hoote þat hit be y-holde. ȝif he wole have my castel, my toun, my feelde, my money, & alle siche þingis, hym nediþ nouȝt but wilne hit, & write,[10] & make a decree, & hote þat hit be y-holde, & whanne þat is y-do he

Kings cannot make laws for the spiritual power.

The decree of Pope Boniface making himself above all secular bodies is a jape to be scorned.

[1] *blotted* Ch.
[2] our S.
[3] Kyng C.
[4] non C.
[5] þei þei C.
[6] of S.
[7] I-made A C Ch S.
[8] *om.* Ch.
[9] a statute hys statute C.
[10] write hit A C.

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princis of the worlde maye ordeyne no statutes of youre spiritualtie, ouer the whiche they haue no power; no more ye maye ordeyne no statutes of theyr temporalties, ouer the which ye haue nother power nor auctoritie. Wherfore it is a thynge in vayne, what euer ye ordeyne of temporal thynges, ouer whiche ye haue of God resceived no power. And therfore but late I lough well faste, whan I harde that Pope Boniface the VIII. had made a newe statute, that he hym selfe shulde be aboue all seculer lordes, princis, kinges and emperours, and aboue all kyngedomes, & make lawe vppon all thynges; and that hym nedeth nought but wryte, for all thynges shall be his, whan he * 3 b hath wryten; and so all thyng shall be yours. For to make a statute, his statute is nought elles, but to wyll that the decree be holden and kepte, and ordeyne and whote that it be holden. If he woll haue my castell, my towne, my felde, my money, or any other suche thynges; hym nedeth nought, but wyll it, and write it, and make a decree, and whote that it be holden, and whan that is done, he hath ryght to al such thynges. Now

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haþ riȝt to alle siche þingis. Now goode clerk, þou knowest wel how worþi þis iape is to be scorned.

The Pope hath power over your temporality.

Cl*e*ricus. Syr*e* knyȝt ȝe spekiþ scharplich, slyliche, & wilyliche y-nowȝ. Al ȝoure talkynge & menyng is þ*a*t þe pope haþ no power to ordeyne & make statutes of your*e* temp*o*ralte; for ȝe knowiþ nouȝt þat he haþ lordschipe, power, & auctorite vppon your*e* temp*o*ralte. Þouȝ[1] we wolde p*re*ue hit by oure lawe & by[2] decrees y-write, ȝe acounteþ hem for nouȝt; for ȝe weneþ þ*a*t[3] Petre had no lordschip & power[3] ou*er* temp*o*ralte but by siche lawe y-write. But ȝif þ*o*u wolt be a trewe Cristen man & of riȝt bileue, þou schalt nouȝt denye þ*a*t Crist[4] was Lord of alle þinges. To hym hit[5] was seide in þe[5] Sau*te*r book: 'Axe of me, & y schal ȝeue naciou*n*s to þee to þyn heritage, & al þe[5] world aboute[5] to þi possessiou*n*.' Also of hym hit is y-write þat 'he is kyng of kynges & lord of lordes.' Þese beþ Goddes[6]

Christ was Lord of all things.

[1] þei A C S: þeyȝ Ch.
[2] be C.
[3–3] Petir no lordschippe hadde ne power C.
[4] *om.* C.
[5–5] *blotted* Ch.
[6] God hys Ch.

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good clerke, thou wottest well, howe worthy this iape is to be scorned.

Cle. Syr Knight ye speke sharpely, slyly, and wysely ynough; all your talkyng and meanynge is (as fer as I perceyue) that the pope hath no power to ordeyne and make statutes of your temporalties; for ye knowe not, that he hath lordeshyp, power, and auctoritie vppon your temporalties.

4 a Though we wolde proue it by our * lawe, and by decrees wryten ye accompte them for nought. For ye wene that Peter had no lordeshyp ne power ouer temporalte, but by suche lawe wryten. But if thou wilt be a trewe Christen man, and of ryght beleue, thou shalte not deny, but that Christ is lord of al thinges. To hym it was sayde in the Sauter boke: Aske of me, & I shall giue nations to thyn heritage, and all the world about to thy possession. Psal. 2. And also of hym it is wrytten, the fyrst pistill to Timothe the VI. Chapiter, that he is kynge of kynges, and lorde of lordes. I Tim. 2. Apoc. 17 & 19. These be not ours, but Goddes owne wordes; nor we wrote them not, but God sente them, and the holy gooste spake them; and who

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owne wordes; but what Cristen man douteþ wheþer[1] God be trewe of his wordes.

Myles. I wiþsigge nouȝt þe mageste, lordschip, & myȝt of oure Lord God, for he may[2] be wiþseide in[3] no maner wise. But ȝif hit may be schewide by Holy Writ, þat þe pope is lord of al temporalte, kynges & princes mot nedes be suget to þe pope as wel in * temporalte as in spiritualte.

Christ is Lord of temporal things, but not the Pope.

Fol. 1 b

Clericus. Þat may be schewide liȝtlich by auctoritees, þat beþ raþer rehersed. Þe feiþ[4] of holy chirche holdeþ þat Petre þe apostle was ordeyned Cristis[5] vicarie for hym-silf & for[6] his successours; & he þat is ful vicarie may do þe same þat his lord may whanne he is made vicarie wiþ full power wiþ-oute eny wiþdrawing of power. Þanne ȝif ȝe[7] may nouȝt denye þat Crist, þat is Lord of heuene & of erþe, may ordeyne & make statutes of ȝoure temporalte, ȝe may nouȝt denye wiþoute schame þat Cristes[5] vicarie haþ þe same power.

Peter was made the Vicar of Christ with full power, for himself and all his successors.

[1] wher C: war Ch: whare S.
[2] may not S.
[3] on C.
[4] fey A C Ch S.
[5] Crist hys Ch.
[6] *om.* S.
[7] he C.

---

douteth, whether he may ordeyne and make statutes, whome he knoweth to be Lorde of all thynges?

Miles. I withsay not the maiestie, Lordeshyp, and myght of * our Lorde God; for he maye not be withsayde on no 4 b maner wyse. But if it may be shewed by holy writte, that the pope is lorde of all temporalties; than Kynges & princes muste nedes be subiecte to the poope, as well in temporaltie as spiritualtie.

Cle. That may be shewed lyghtly, by the auctoritees that be a lytell rather rehersed. The fayth of holy churche holdeth, that Peter the apostell was ordeined Christis ful vicare for hym selfe and for his successours. And he that is fulle vicare, may do the same that his lord may, whan he is made vicar with ful power, withoute any withdrawynge of power. Than if ye can not deny, but that Christe, that is lorde of heuen and of erthe, may ordeyne and make statutes of your temporalties; how can ye for shame deny Christis vicare to haue the same power?

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Christ has two times, one of his manhood, the other of his power and majesty.

Myles. Ich haue herde[1] of wise doctors þat we schal distingue twey diuerse tymes of Crist: oon of his manhed and anoþer of his power & mageste. Þe tyme of his manhed was from[2] þat he toke flesch & blode anoon to his passioun. Þe tyme of his power & maieste was & is after þe resurrecciou*n*, whanne he seide: 'Al power is ȝeuen[3] to me in heuene & in erþe.'

(*Treuisa.* Here takiþ[4] hede of þe knyȝtes[5] menyng & of þe clerkes[6] menyng also. For þe wordes beþ nouȝt fulle chambred. For al þe tyme of Cristes[7] manhed, þat was tofore his passioun, was tyme of his myȝt, power, & maieste. For bifore[8] his passioun he turned water into wyn; & heled blynde, & lame, & many maner seke men; & hadde þe see, &[9] wynde, & weder, & fendes attendaunt to his heestes; &[10] fedde fyue þousand of men wiþ fyue loues of breed & lefte twelue cupes[11] of relef; & rered men from[12] deþ to lif; & ȝaf his disciplis myȝt & power ouer alle þe deueles & fendes; and schewide of his blis to Petre, James, & Ioon; & ȝede vppon þe see in grete tempest of weder & of þe see. Also whanne he sent his disciplis to fecche hym þe asse to ride on[13] into Jerusalem, he seide: 'ȝif eny man seiþ ouȝt to ȝow, seiþ þat þe lord haþ to do þerwiþ'; & in his ridyng he was worschiped as a Kyng, & somme spradde cloþes in his wey & somme bowes; & þanne[14] was þe prophecie fulfilled, seiþ: 'Douȝtres of Syon, lo! þi kyng comeþ to þee, meke & mylde, sittyng vppon[15] an asse.' Also in a tyme he drof biggers & sillers out of þe temple as lord & kyng. Also his lore was in[16] myȝt & power, & he dide al þis & many oþer grete dedes bifore[17]

The time of Christ's manhood was when he was on earth doing his wonders and miracles.

The time of his might and power was before his passion.

[1] y herd A C Ch S.
[2] fro S.
[3] Iȝeue A C Ch S.
[4] tak S.
[5] *blotted* Ch.
[6] clerk hys Ch.
[7] Crist hys Ch.
[8] tofore A C Ch S.
[9] *om.* A C Ch S.
[10] & he A C Ch.
[11] cupes ful A C.
[12] fro S.
[13] *om.* C Ch.
[14] þo A C Ch S.
[15] on C S.
[16] *om.* C.
[17] tofore A C Ch S.

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5 a MILES. I haue hard of holy and * deuout men, that we shuld distingue two dyuers tymes of Christe: one of his humilite, and an other of his power and maiestie. The tyme of his humilytie was from the tyme that he toke flesshe and blode, vnto his passion: the tyme of his power and maiestie, was and is after his Resurrection, whan he said: All power is yeue to me in heuen and in erthe. Mat. Vlt.

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his passioun; þanne before [1] his passioun was tyme of his power & of his myȝt & after his passioun was & is tyme of his manhed. For after his passioun Seynt Steuene seyȝ hym in his manhed stonde in þe fader riȝt side. But how hit euer be of þe distinccioun þat is made bitwene þe clerk & þe knyȝt, of þe tyme of Cristes [2] manhed & of þe tyme of his myȝt, power, and maieste, take hede how þei spekiþ eiþer to oþer. For þe knyȝt spekiþ in þis manere.)

Peter was ordeyned Cristes [2] vicarie, for þe state of his manhed & nouȝt for þe state of his blisse & maieste. He was nouȝt made Cristes [2] vicarie in doyng þat Crist doþ now in blisse; but for to folowe hym in his doyng þat he dide here on [3] erþe. Þanne he ȝaf his vicarie þat power [4] þat he vsed [4] here in erþe, deþliche. & forto preue þis by Holy Writt, y take witnesse of Crist & of Holy Writt as þou dost. Lo! Crist seide to Pylat: 'My kyngdom is nouȝt of þis world.' Also he seiþ þat 'he come nouȝt to be serued,[6] but to serue oþer men.' Luce 12°. And oon seide to Crist: 'Maister say to my broþer þat he departe heritage wiþ me.' Crist answerde & seide: 'Man who

Peter was made Christ's vicar, to follow him in his doing here on earth.

Holy Writ shows that Christ was not judge over temporal things.

[1] tofore A C Ch S.
[2] Crist hys Ch.
[3] in S.
[4–4] *om.* A C.
[5] *om.* S.
[6] I serued A C Ch S.

Peter was ordeyned Christis vicare for the state of his humilite, and not for the state of his blysse and maiestie; but to folowe hym in doynge those thynges, which Christe in humilite dydde here in erth; for those thynges are necessary for vs. Ergo Christ commytted thylke power to his vicare, whiche he as a man mortall exercysed, and not that power, whiche after his glorification he resceyued. And for to proue this by Holy Wrytte, I take wytnes of Christe and Holy Writte,* as thou 5 b doste. Lo Christe sayde to Pilate: My Kyngedome is not of this worlde, Jo. 18. Also he saith, he came not to be serued, but to serue other men, Matt. 20. This wytnes is so manifeste, that it maye confounde a man, resiste he neuer so moche, and all to frusshe his necke, be it neuer so styffe. And it is wrytten Luc. 12. howe one said to Christ: Mayster say to my brother, that he departe herytage with me. To whom Christ answered and sayde: Manne, who hathe ordeyned me iudge or departer

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haþ made me juge to depa*r*te bitwene 3ou?' Luce 12°. Lo!
Fol. 2 a þou herest openlich þat Crist was nou3t juge & * deler ou*er*
temp*or*alte.[1] But wha*n*ne þe peple þat he had fedde[2] wolde
He gave Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven not of earth.
have made[3] hym kyng, he fly3 from[4] hem. Also in Petres[5]
co*m*missiou*n* he 3af hym nou3t þe keyes of þe kyngd*om* of erþe,
but þe keyes of þe kyngdom of heuene. Also þe bischops of
Hebrewes were suget to kyngis, & kynges sett dou*n* bischops.[6]
But forto knowe þat Petre was Cristes[7] vicarie in goostliche
kyngdom of soules & nou3t in temp*or*al lordschipe of castels &
This is proved by Paul, writing to the Hebrews, and also to Timothy.
of londes, take hede what Poul þe apostle seiþ: 'Eue*r*eche
bischop,' he seiþ 'is y-take of men & y-ordeyned for men in
þingis þat longeþ to God, nou3t to gou*er*ne erþliche kyngdom,
but to offre 3iftes & sacrifice[8] for sy*n*ne.' Also to[9] Thi.:[10] 'No

[1] *Inserted in* S 'y ordeyned for þe staat of þis deþlich lif þat hauynge no Kyngdom of þis world noþer gouernau*n*ce of temp*or*alte'.
[2] y fed A C Ch S.
[3] y made A C Ch S.
[4] fro S.
[5] patre hys Ch S.
[6] but God forbode þat it were so now A C S: but God for buede hyt þat were so now Ch.
[7] Crist hys Ch.
[8] Sacrafices A C S.
[9] *om.* S.
[10] þise A C.

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betwene you? Lo thou hereste openly, that Christ was not
iudge nor dealer ouer temporaltees. Ergo in that state of dis-
pensation taken on hym, he neyther had nor desyred temporalle
kyngedome. But whan the people, that he hadde fedde, wolde
haue made hym kynge, he fledde from them Jon. 6. Also in
6 a Peters commission * he yafe hym not the keys of the kyngdome
of erth, but the keyes of the kyngedome of heuen. Also it is
euydent and playne, that the bysshoppes of the Hebrewes were
subiectes to kynges, and the kynges deposed the bysshoppes:
but god forbydde, that they shulde so nowe. And for to knowe,
that Peter was Christis vycar in godly kyngedome of soules, and
not in temporalle lordeshyppe of castelles and of landes; take
hede what Paule the appostelle saythe wrytynge to the
Hebrewes. Heb. 5. Euerye bysshoppe (saythe he) is take of
men, and ordeyned for men in thynges that belonge to god, not
to gouerne erthely thynges, but to offre gyftes and sacrifices for
synne. (That the bysshoppe is made ruler in those thinges
that long to god, thou maist perceyue by the wordes of saynte
6 b Paule writynge to Timothe, the. 2 * pistel, & 2. chap. where he

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man,' he seiþ, 'þat traueiliþ in knyȝthode to godward medliþ hym to[1] secular nedes[2] & bysynesse.'[3] Þanne it is soþe þat Crist vsed nouȝt worldliche kyngdom, [4]noþer ȝaf Peter siche a maner kyngdom.[4] Also in Actibus Apostolorum, Petre seiþ: 'Hit is nouȝt riȝtful þat we leue þe lawe of God & serue metebordes, & gouerne temporalte.'[5] & þouȝ somme temporalte[5] may be gouerned by bischops, noþeles bischops schulde nouȝt be occupied in gouernance of myȝt & lordschips of þis world. Þerfore sire Clerk þe auctoritees þat þou hast leyde[6] for þi party: 'Axe of me & y schel ȝeue þee peple & naciouns, & al þe world aboute to þyn heritage'; þis is nouȝt vnderstonden for þe first state but for þe secunde; for in þe first state Crist vsed no siche power, but put hit awey[7] from[8] hym & vsed onlich þat longeþ to þe gouernaunce of oure sauacioun; & in þat maner of

Peter also says that we should not leave the law of God te serve temporal things.

[1] in A C Ch S.
[2] charges A: chirches C Ch: cherres S.
[3] besynessess.
[4–4] *om.* A C.
[5–5] *om.* C.
[6] aleide A C Ch S.
[7] alwey C.
[8] fro A C S.

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saith), No man that trauayleth in knyghthode to godward, medleth him in secular busynesses. Than hit is sothe, that Christe neyther exercised worldely kyngedome, nor commytted hit to Peter. And in the actes of the apostels the 6. Chaptre Peter saythe: It is not ryghtfull that we leue the worde of god, & serue meate, bourdes, (that is to saye, to dispose temporall thynges). And all though some temporall thinges may be disposed bi bishops; yet, neuertheles it is playne and euident, that bysshoppes shulde not be occupied in gouernaunce of myghte and lordshyppes of this world. Therfore syr clerke, the auctoricties that thou haste layde for thy partie, Aske of me, and I shall gyue to the, nations to thyn heritage, and all the world about, to thy possession. And that he is kynge of kynges, etc. Apoc. 17 & 19. This * is not vnderstond for the fyrst estate but for the seconde. In the whiche fyrste estate it is playne, that Christe exercised no temporall power, but put it clene away from him, & vsed only that, that longed to the gouernance of our Saluation. And in that maner of doynge he made Peter his vicar, whom he nother made knyght, nor crowned kynge; but

Psalm 2. I Tim. 2. 7 a

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Christ made Peter a priest and bishop and not a king.

doyng, he made Petre[1] his vicarie & made hym no kny3t no*þer* crowned hym[2] kyng, but made hym[3] *prest* & bischop.[3] And 3if 3e wolle*þ* 3ett stryue *þat* Cristes[4] vicarie schuld haue *þat* power in tempo*r*alte, *þat* Cri*s*t hadde after his resurecciou*n* in heuene & vsed nou3t here in er*þe*, 3oure st*r*if schal not turne 3ow to worschip atte laste. Eue*r*ech Cri*s*ten man knowi*þ* wel, *þat* 3if God bade[5] hym 3eue to ano*þer* man his money, his hous, his felde, hys vyn3erde wi*þ*out eny[6] cauciou*n*, wi*þ*oute eny ple, wi*þ*out eny axing why & for what cause, anoon he most be obedient. *Þan*ne 3if 3e st*r*iue*þ* *þat* *þe* pope ha*þ* *þe* same power, *þan*ne 3e mot stryue also *þat* *þe* pope may take of 3ow & of vs, al *þat* 3e & we haue*þ* & 3eue al to his cosyns o*þer* whom hi*m* like*þ*, & telle no cause why. Also *þat* he may take of p*r*inces & of kynges p*r*incipates and kyngdoms at his owne wille, & 3eue where hym like*þ*. But take hede how wrongfullich *þat* were y-do & deme*þ* how hit wolde myslike 3ow, & he dide so to 3ow.

[1] 'Christ' *written in line*, 'Petre' *above line* S.
[2] *om.* C.
[3–3] bisshop & preost C.
[4] Crist hys Ch.
[5] heet A C Ch S.
[6] *om.* S.

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ordeyned hym to be a preest and bysshoppe. And if ye woll yet stryue, that Christis vycare shulde haue that power in temporaltie, that Christe had after his resurrection in heuen, and used not here in erthe, your stryfe shall not turne you to worship at length. For it is euident to euery faythfull man, that if God shuld commande hym to gyue his money, his felde, or his vineyarde to any other man, without any prouision or reasonable request, and without any expresse studieng, he ought
7 b forth with to obey.* Wherfore if ye wyll contende, that the pope hath the same power, than of necessite ye must graunt also, that the pope maye take from you, and from vs, all the goodes that ye and we haue, and gyue them all to whiche of his neuewes or cousyns, that he wyll, and tell no cause why; and also he may take away from princis and kynges, principalitees and kynge-domes at his own wylle, and gyue them there as hym lykethe. But take hede how wrongfully that were done, and demeth your owne selfe, howe that wolde myslike you, if he dydde so to you. If that very reason constrayne you to forsake your folysshe

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þanne it is soþe þat he feng nouȝt so grete power as *Crist* in temporalte, but onlich þat power þat *Crist* vsed & tauȝt in his deþlich lyuy*n*g. Therefore he has not temporal power, but only that power that Christ used and taught in his deathly living.

*Cler*icus. Denyest þou,[1] þat holy chirche schal knowe[2] correctt men of sy*n*nes?

Miles.[3] Wrongfuliche penaunce & schrifte.

*Cler*icus. þa*n*ne ȝif a wrongful dede is synne, þe pope þat schal knowe & deme[4] of sy*n*ne, schal knowe & deme[4] of riȝtful & vnriȝtful. [4]But in temp*or*alte & in dedes þat touchiþ temp*or*alte is riȝtful & vnriȝtful.[4] þanne þe pope schal [5]deme & rule[5] þe temp*or*alte. The Pope must rule the temporal.

Miles. þis argume*n*t is riȝt nouȝt. For here ich argue in þe same man*er*, in honging of þeeues & of oþ*er* mysdoers þat beþ dampned[6] to þe deþ, is riȝtful & vnriȝtful. þ*er*fore bycause of syn*n*e þat siche men doþ, þe pope schal deme & be domesman?

[1] *om.* A C Ch S.
[2] knowe and A C Ch S.
[3] God hit forbude for who þat denyeþ þat denyeþ. A C Ch S.
[4–4] *om.* C.
[5–5] rule & deme C.
[6] I dampned A C Ch S.

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argumente the poope also shall be constrayned to gyue backe. For it is sothe, that he, Christis vicare, resceyued not so great power in temporaltees, but he resceyued onely that power, that Christe in his humilite dayly vsed * and taughte. 8 a

Clericus. Wyll ye denye syre knyghte, that holy churche shall not knowe and correcte menne for synnes?

Miles. Godde forbydde, For he that wolde denye that, shall denye penaunce and confession.

Cleri. If ought be done vnryghtfully, it is synne; and he that hath to do in knowledge of synne, must knowe and also deeme of ryghtefulle and vnrightfull. Therefore syns there is ryghtful and vnrightfull in businesses of temporall matters, of verye consequens the pope ought to rule and deme in temporall causes.

Miles. This is a forked argument, whose vanite and sklendernes must be by a like argume*n*t, overthrowen. In hangyng vp of theues and other misdoers, that be dampned to the dethe, is ryghtfull and vnryghtfull, and also synne. Therefore bycause of synne, that suche menne * doo, shall the Poope deme and be 8 b

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In cause of felony & of mannes[1] deþ, þe argument is nouȝt, &
Fol. 2 b þerfore hit is y-blowe awey wiþ a liȝt resoun. Now sire clerk, *
ȝe most schewe how ȝe schal knowe & deme riȝtful & vnriȝtful.
Who shall deem the right and the wrong. For hit is no doute þat riȝtful & vnriȝtful in temporalte schal
be demed by lawes, þat men haueþ made of temporalte. But
me mot take hede al aboute what longeþ to þe cause þat schal
He who makes the law for temporal things must judge right and wrong, and govern according to law. be demed. Þanne hit is soþe þat he þat makiþ þe lawe, haþ
power to knowe & to deme riȝtful & vnriȝtful, & to expowne &
declare, & telle þe menyng of lawe, & to kepe þe lawe, & to
gouerne[2] resonabliche [3]þee by lawe.[3]

Þanne ȝif ȝe wolleþ be as grete maistres as he, in knowleche & demynge of [4]temporalte, & striue wiþ hym in knowleche & demyng of[4] riȝtful & vnriȝtful, in what longeþ to temporalte, þanne ȝe ereþ wiþ an oxe and an asse aȝenus ȝoure[5] Holy Writ. & whanne þe prince seiþ, þis is riȝtful,

[1] man hys Ch.
[2] gouerne þe A.
[3–3] *om.* A.
[4–4] *om.* S.
[5] ȝoure owne S.

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domes man in cause of felonye and of mans dethe? This is a lyght argument, and therefore hit is blowen away with a lyght reason. Nowe syr clerke ye muste shewe, howe ye shulde knowe and deme ryghtfulle and vnrightefulle. For there is no doubte, but that ryghtful & vnrightfull in temporalties shal be demed by lawes, that men haue made of temporaltie. But ye mote take hede all aboute, what longeth to the cause, that shal be demed. Than it is soth, that he that maketh the lawe, hath power to knowe and to deme rightfull and vnrightful, and to expowne and declare, and to tell the meanyng of the lawe, and to kepe the lawe, and to gouerne reasonnably by the lawe. Nowe if ye wyll be as great maysters as he, in knowlege and demynge of temporaltie, and stryue with hym in knowlege and
9 a demyng * of rightfull and vnrightful, in what that longeth to temporaltie, thanne eare ye with an oxe and asse agaynst your holy wrytte. And whan the prince saythe, this is ryghtfull, the bysshop sayth, this is vnryghtfull: than is fulfylled the prophecy of Abacuc: Abac. 1. Ryghtfuldome is made, and withsayenge is stronger, throughe the whiche the lawe is torne and rent, & the rightful dome cometh not to ende. For

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þe bischop seiþ, þis is vnriȝtful. Þanne is fulfild þe prophecie of Abacuc. In þe bygynnyng was made riȝtful doom, & wiþsigginge of þe prophete is stronge; þe lawe is y-tore & to-rent; þe dome com nouȝt to þe ende, for þat schal nouȝt be to-rent riȝtwisnesse in erþe. Now y schal schewe ȝou by þe apostle whare ȝoure knowleche & doom schal bygynne. Þe princes by her lawes schal knowe & deme riȝtful & vnriȝtful, & þe ende þerof, euereche man schal take hede as he is y-holde & be obedient to hym, as hit is yhote Deuteronomy 17°: 'Si quis autem tumens, ȝif eny man is prout & wole nouȝt be obedient to þe princes[1] hestes, & þe princes office haþ no power to deme & to chastee siche mysdoers,' þanne bigynneþ ȝoure knowleche & ȝoure dome. For ȝoure monicioun schal refreyne & chastee.[2] For þe apostle Poule ad Titum[3] seiþ: 'Evereche soule schal be suget to þe ouer power.' Whanne he seiþ euereche soule, hit

If the Pope striveth for temporal power then is fulfilled the prophecy of Habakkuk 1. 4.

If a man is disobedient of the King's law, then the bishop may admonish him.

[1] prince hys Ch.
[2] chastise C.
[3] ad titum 3° S.

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truely that is not to do ryghtfull dome and iustyce in erthe. Nowe I shall shewe you, after the apostelle Paule where your knowlege and dome shall begynne. The prince by his lawes shal deme right and wronge, and euery man shall be redy at his commandement, as he is bounde: and shall be obediente to hym. Nowe if any man waxe stubborne, and wyll not be obedient to the pryncis hestes, nor the prynce (Whose office is deme and iudge)* is not able to resyste and compell hym: than begynneth your knowlege and your dome. For youre monitions shal refraine and chastice hym, accordynge as Saynte Paule saythe to Titus the 3. Chap. Admonyshe and warne them, that they be subiectes to princis and high powers. And also wrytynge vnto the Romayns the thyrtene chapiter he sayth on this wyse: Everye soule shall be subiecte to the hyghe powers. Whan he sayth euery soule, it semeth than, none is excepted. Also where as misdoynges and synfull dedes are manifest and open, as robbery, thefte, and suche lyke, norther is none that can or wyl redresse these offences: I deny not, but that ye shall and may vse your power in suche cases, but not of ryght-full or vnrightfull: for it falleth not for you to knowe and

9 b

Tit. 3.

Rom. 13.

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When the sin is openly known as in robbery, and there is none to amend the trespass, then the priest may use his power.

semeþ þat noon is outtake. Also þere þe mysdoyng & synne is openliche y-knowe as hit is in takinge of robberie & of þeefþe, and whanne þere is noon þat wole and may amende þe trespas, y denye nouȝt þat ȝe schal & may in siche caases vse youre power; but nouȝt aboute riȝtful and vnriȝtful, for hit falleþ nouȝt to[1] ȝou to knowe & deme þerof, noþer to putt ȝoure hond þerto. But whanne hit is openliche y-knowe by sentence & dome of lawe oþer by open euydence & knowleche of þe trespas þat nedeþ noon oþer witnesse & preues, [2]þanne hit may longe to ȝou[2] in mater & forme as hit is seide toforhond. & ȝif ȝe wolleþ needes knowe & deme in siche caases,[3] bycause þat vnriȝt & synne beþ y-bounde to-gidres, þanne hit nediþ nouȝt but close þe ȝates of princes & speke nouȝt of her lawes, but speke of þe lawes of bischops aloone. Hit longeþ to ȝou to knowe & to deme in cause of matrimonye & of wedlok, y praye ȝou wole ȝe þerfore sey þat hit foleweþ þat ȝe schal knowe & deme of al þat longeþ þerto, for þe knyt-

[1] *om.* S.
[2] þan may it longe to ȝou C.
[3] causes C.

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10 a deme thereof; nor to entermeddle therewith. But when * it is openly knowen by sentence and dome of the lawe, or els by playne enidence and knowlege of the trespace, that nedeth none other wytnesse nor proues: than may it longe to you in maner and forme, as hit is sayde before.

And if ye woll nedes knowe and deme in suche causes, bycause that wronge and synne be lynked to gether; than there nedeth nought els, but shutte vp the gates of princis, and speke naughte of theyr lawes and statutes, but speke of the lawes of bysshops all onely. It dothe belonge to you to knowe and to deme cause of matrimony and of wedlocke, I pray you, wyll ye therfore say, that it foloweth, that ye shall knowe and deme as al that longeth therto for the knyttyng of the dede? Lo! I go into your countreye for to aske heritage in my

10 b wyfes name; for she is heyre therof, ye see, that by * reason of matrimonye it longeth to me to requyre this heritage; shall I therfore plede before you for my wyfes heritage, and telle my tale in this manner: I Roberte at Stile aske for my wyfe a

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tinge of þe dede? Lo! ich go into 3oure cuntraye forto axe heritage in my[1] wyues[2] name, for heo is eyr þerof; hit longeþ [3] to me to axe þat heritage, for hit is y-knytt to þe matrimonye & hit longeþ[3] to 3ou to deme & to knowe of þe matrimonye. An illustration of the function of the priest, as seen in matrimony and wedlock.

Schal ich þerfore plede tofore 3ow for my wyues heritage & telle þe tale in þis manere: 'Robart atte Style axeþ for his wif a ducherye in[4] name of[5] dower, & so forþe?' Wheþer[6] schal ich plede tofore þe kyng oþer tofore þe bischop? Ich saye playnlich to 3ou alle clerkes, forbedying 3ou þat 3e entremete 3ou nou3t of doome & knowleche of dower, a3enus God & ri3t-wisnesse. For þe byheeste of dower is verrey couenaunt of temporalte, & schal * be preued oþer dispreued, by preues oþer dispreues, of þe kynges[7] lawe. Þanne hit is a iape of sich a manere onyng of þinges, to feyne a knyttyng to-gidres in dome & in knowleche of causes, þou3 oon auctorite be ynou3 to 3ou for al þis doyng. For Crist in þe gospel seiþ: 'Man who haþ made me domesman oþer deler bitwene 3ou?' Luce 12°. Here He should know of the matrimony, but has no power to judge in regard to the wife's dowry. Fol. 3 a The dowry comes under the King's law.

[1] myn C.
[2] wyf hys Ch.
[3-3] *om.* C.
[4] in þe A C.
[5] of a A C.
[6] where C Ch.
[7] kyng hys Ch.

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duchery, in the name of dowerye, and so forthe? Whiche ought to be pleded before the kyng, and not before the bysshoppe. Yea I saye vnto you all clerkes forbyddyngc you, that you entermeddell you not of dome and knowlege of dowere, agaynst God and ryghtousness. For the beheste of dowery, is very couvenant of temporaltie, and shall be proued or disproued, by proues or disproues, of the kynges lawes. And for so moch as ye vsurp and take vpon you that, that belongeth vnto other, it is ryghte mete, that ye suffre as ye do.

Now thus it appereth, that it is but a iape and a vanite of suche maner of onynge of thynges to feyne a * knyttynge to gethers in dome and in knowlege of causes. For to the confoundynge of all those reasons (that ye make) the only wordes are suffycient, that I afore recyted to you oute of the gospelle of Luke, where our Lorde Jesu sayth: O man who hath ordeyned me domesman or dealer betwene you? Here Christ sheweth vs 11 a Luc. 12.

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Christ did not deem and deal heritage.

Crist schewiþ vs openlich, þat hit longide nouȝt to hym to deme & dele heritage by þe power þat he vsed in þat þat he was man y-schape forto dye.

The spiritual must rule the temporal.

Cl*e*ricus. Þe temp*o*ralte schal serue þe spiritualte, & ȝif hit is so, temp*o*ralte schal be suget to[1] spiritualte, & spiritual power schal gou*e*rne & rule þe temp*o*ral power.

Miles.[2] Soþlich þe temp*o*ralte schal serue þe spiritualte, so þat þei þat[3] haueþ temporalte schal fynde what is necessarie to hem þat worschipeþ & serueþ God. For alle naciou*n*s doþ so as hit were by wey of kynde, [4]& kynde ȝaf dome by lawe[5] of kynde,[4] þat to hem þat worschipiþ God & mynistres sac*r*amentes & soche as longeþ to God, me schal mynistre necessaries & dewe[6] worschipe & what is nedeful to liflode, so hit is yknowe, 47° of Pharao; & þe lawe þat God ȝaf, Moyses ordeyned largelich for p*r*estes. But þat lawe ordeyned hem no temp*o*ral

The temporal shall serve the spiritual in the case of those who administer sacraments. This is given in Moses' law, and by Paul to the Corinthians.

[1] to þe S.
[2] Miles, *written in right margin*, H.
[3] *om.* C.
[4–4] *om.* C.
[5] wey *written and crossed out in text, and* lawe *in right margin*, H.
[6] þow A C: þuwe Ch: þew S.

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openly, that it longed not to hym to deme and deale herytage, by the power that he vsed in that that he was man shapen for to dye.

Cleri. Can ye denay but that the temporalties ought to obey and be seruiseable to the spiritualtie? If ye can not, ye must nedes graunt that the temporaltie must nedes be subiect to the spiritualtie; & that the spirituall power oughte to rule the temporall.

Miles. Sothely the temporaltie shall serue the spiritualtie in this case; they are bounde to fynde them, that worshyp and
11 b serue * god, all that is necessary for them. For so do all nations (as it were by way of kynde) honour and ministre vnto the liuelod & other necessaries, that worshyp God, & ministre sacramentes and such as longeth to God. For in the lawes that our Lord gaue to Moyses, the Phariseis and pristes were largely prouided fore: but yet that law did not ordein for them ani temporall kyngedome or lordeschyp. And the apostell to
Cor. 9. the Corinthees saythe: If we have sowen thynges spirituall amonge you, it is no great thing if we repe carnall? But if

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kyngdom & lordschipe. And þe apostle to Corinth: '3if we soweþ to 3ou spiritualte, hit is nou3t þe moste 3if we repe 3oure *tempo*ralte.' But 3if þou wolt wite what man*er* lordschip *Cri*st ordeyned[1] his *ser*uauntes þat sowiþ spiritualte, take *in* ordre þe wordes of *Cri*st & of þe apostle Paul. *Cri*st sende his disciplis to *pre*che & seyde: 'þe werk-man is worþi his mede,' & Poul seiþ: 'Who[2] trauailiþ in kny3thode vppon his owne coste, as who seiþ no man.' And in Moyses[3] lawe hit is writen: 'þou schalt not bynde þe oxes[4] mouþe þat þraschiþ.' Lo! how *Cri*st likneþ 3ow to werk-men, to hyred[5] men, to oxen & nou3t to kynges. Hit is knowen[6] þat werkmen & her men beþ nou3t lordes of þinges. Þanne hit semeþ þat tempo*ralte* is *grau*nted 3ow to helpe of 3oure lyuynge & nou3t to lordschipe. And of þe spiritualte[7] hit is writen[8] in Moyses lawe[9]: '*Þere* 3e beþ likned to an oxe þat þraschiþ, to þe whiche hit is y-now3 to take his mete þou3 he fille al þe berne wiþ his trauail.' And

Christ told his disciples: the work-man is worthy his mede.

[1] ordeyned for A C Ch S.
[2] who so S.
[3] Moyses hys Ch.
[4] oxe hys Ch.
[5] hyre A C Ch S.
[6] I knowe A C Ch S.
[7] spiritual A C.
[8] I write A C Ch S.
[9] lawes A C Ch.

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thou wylte witte, what maner lordshyp Christe ordeyned for his seruauntes, that sowe spiritualle sedes: take of the wordes of Christe and of the apostelle Paule, as they folowe in order. For Christe to his disciples, sente forthe to preache, sayde: The worke man is worthye his meate: and, The worke man is worthy his * mede. And Paule of hym selfe and other apostles sayth, 12 a I. Cor. 9. Who trauaylleth in knyghtehoode vpon his owne coste? As who sayth: no man. I. Cor. 9. And in Moyses lawe it is written. Deut. 25. Thou shalte not bynde the oxe mouthe that thressheth. Lo to whom doth Christe & his apostell Paule lyken you? To workmen, to hyredmen & oxen, and not to kinges. I pray you, be worke men and hyred men, lordes of thynges? Than it semeth, that temporaltyes are graunted you to helpe of your lyuynge, and for charge of spirituall administration, and not to lordeshyp. And of the spirituall it is wrytten in Moyses lawe, there Deut. 15. Ye be lykened to an oxe, that thressheth, to the whiche it is ynough to take his meate,

Mat. 10. Luc. 10. Tim. 5.

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The bishop is taken of men, and ordained for men, in that which belongs to God, not in that which belongs to the world.

for ȝe seyn þat spiritual power ruleþ & gouerneþ þe temporalte hit is schewide toforhond by þe apostle, þat euerech bischop is y-take of men & ordeyned for men in þat þat longeþ to God, & in þat spiritual power schal rule & gouerne us & nouȝt in þat þat longeþ to þe world. For hit longeþ nouȝt to holy chirche to deme in þat, þat is outward. And ȝif ȝe ȝit struneþ þat þe pope is aboue alle oþer also in temporalte, ȝe falleþ into wel grete scornes. ȝif þe pope whanne he is made pope [1] is made lorde of alle [1], þanne by þe same skyle a bischop whanne he is made bischop, is [2] made lord of al þe cuntray of his bischopriche; & þe kynges [3] preste is þe kynges [3] lord, & lord of þe kyngdom [4] & of al þat is in þe kyngdom,[4] & specialiche þe primat. Also we haueþ lerned þat kynges ordeynede who schulde be prestes; and prestes ordeynede nouȝt who schulde be kynges, & prestes were

In the former days kings ruled the priests.

[1–1] he is lorde; lorde of alle þe contrey C.
[2] he is C.
[3] kyng hys Ch.
[4–4] *om.* C.

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though he fyll al the berne with his trauayle. And for that ye saye, that spirituall power ruleth and gouerneth the temporaltie, * that it answered you afore by the apostell Paule, where he sayth: Euery bysshop is taken of men, and ordeyned for men in that that longeth to God, and in that the spirituall power shall rule and gouerne vs and not in that that longeth to the worlde; for it longeth nat to holye churche to deeme in that that is outwarde.

12 b

Heb. 5.

And if ye yet striue, that the pope is aboue all other also in temporaltie, ye falle into well great skornes. For if the poope (whan he is made pope) shuld be made lorde ouer all: than by the same skylle a bysshoppe (whan he is made bysshop) is made lorde of all the countrey of his bysshoprike, and my priest shall be lorde ouer my castelle, and be my lorde. For as the power of the pope is in all, so is the power of these in that party, where they rule. Wherfore leaue the folysshenes the which is * laughed and mocked atte of euery man, and that is, with so many reasones and auctorityes of Scripture confounded. Also we haue lerned in the Olde Testament, that kynges ordeyned who shulde be priestes; but priests dyd not ordeyne, who shuld be

13 a

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nou3t worschiped [1] of *pr*inces & of kyngis, but *pr*inces & kynges were worschiped [1] of *pr*estes & of *pro*phetes; & [2] kynges sente for *pr*estes & *pro*phetes, & bade [3] hem do what [4] kynges likide.

Also in þe Olde Testament kynges correctide *pr*estis and vnd*er*toke hem and blamede hem, wha*n*ne þei erride in gou*er*naun*c*e of tempo*r*alte, as hit * is written, 3° Regu*m* p° 4° & 12° ca. Evidence of this in the Old Testament. Fol. 3 b

Cle*r*icus. Me wondreþ þa*t* 3e seyn þa*t* þe kyng vnd*er*toke þe bischop in gou*er*nau*n*ce of [5] tempo*r*alte.

Miles. 3e stireþ me & wakiþ me as hit were of my sleep, & makiþ me speke o*þ*er wise þan y þou3t.

Cle*r*icus. Lete þe hound wake & berke.

Miles. For 3e ku*n*ne nou3t vse manhed suffrau*n*ce & pacience of *pr*inces, y trowe [6] 3e schal fele berkyng & bityng.

Cle*r*icus. What haueþ *pr*inces and kynges to do wiþ gou*er*nau*n*ce of oure temporalte? þei haueþ her owne co*m*pray [7] þa*t* þei lete vs haue fre.

[1–1] *om.* C.
[2] & of C.
[3] heet A C Ch S.
[4] what þe C.
[5] of A C Ch S: o*þ*er H.
[6] trowe þat S.
[7] compray contrarie C.

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kynges. And priestes were not worshypped of kynges; but kynges and pryncis were worshypped of priestes and prophetes, and myghte calle them and commaunde them to do what pleased the kynges. And in the same Olde Testamente the kynges dyd correcte the priestes, and vndertoke, and blamed them, whan they erred in gouernaunce of temporaltie.

Cle. I maruayle that ye say, that kynges vndertoke and blamed the byshop in gouern*a*nce of temporaltie.

Miles. Ye awake the slepynge dogge, and dryue me to speake otherwyse than I thoughte before to do.

Cleri. Lette the * hounde wake and barke. 13 b

Miles. For as moche as ye can not be contente, and pacyently (to your profit) suffre the princis, I fere me, that after due and iuste barkynge, ye shall fele bytynge.

Cleri. What have princis and kynges to do with gouernance of our temporaltie, lette them take theyrs, and suffre vs in peace with oures?

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Priests should pray for those who die, and not waste their time in sins and vanity.

Miles. Kynges & princes haueþ myche ado wiþ 3oure temporalte. Haue ich nou3t to do to þenke on þe sauacioun of myn owne soule wiþ al þat y may? Falleþ hit nou3t for 3ow to pray for fadris þat beþ apassed out of þis lif? 3af nou3t oure forfadres[1] 3ou temporalte in grete wone & plente for 3e schulde pray for hem, & spende in Goddes[2] worschip? But 3e doþ noþinge herof, but 3e spendiþ 3oure temporalte in youre synnes & 3oure vanite, þe whiche temporalte 3e schuld spende in werkes of charite, in almes dedes in[3] pore men & nedy. Were hit nou3t nedeful þat þei þat beþ dede were y-holpe, & þei þat beþ[4] alyue[5] y-saued by dedes of mercy, for þe whiche oure forfadres haueþ y-3eue 3ow grete lordschipes & huge? Spende 3e nou3t siche lordschipes amysse & so wrongfullich, þat 3e greueþ boþe quycke & dede & doþ hem wrong a3enus þe wille of hem þat 3af 3ow so grete lordschipes & rychesses? While[6] 3e recchiþ

[1] forme fadres A C.
[2] God hys Ch.
[3] to A C.
[4] beþ dede were I holpe & pey þat beeþ C.
[5] alyue be C.: alyue were S.
[6] whiche C.

Miles. Syr the princis muste in any wyse haue to do therwith. I praye you, oughte nat we aboue all thynges, to mynde the helthe of our soules? oughte not we to see, that the wylles of our fore fathers be fulfylled? Falleth it not to you to pray for our fore fathers, that be passed out of this lyfe? And dydde not our fore fathers gyue you oure temporalties ryghte plentyfullye to the entente, that ye shulde praye for them, and spende
14 a it all to gether to the pleasure and honour of god? * and ye do nothyng so; but ye spende away your temporaltie in synfulle dedes and vanite, the which temporaltie ye shulde dispende in workes of charite, and in almes dedes to poore men and nedy. Were it not nedefulle, that they that be deed shulde be holpe, and they that be alyue saued by dedes of mercye? For the whiche oure fore fathers haue gyuen you great and huge dominions. And whan ye apply them to your owne vse and superfluously consume them, and contrary to their intente, that were the gyuers, and also of the resceyuers, lasshe them out to an yll vse: do ye not damnably hurte and hynderaunce bothe to them that be alyue, and also to them that be deed? ye recke

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nou3t of honeste of 3oure owne law, & of dedes of mercy & of charite, masses 3e sigge þ nou3t no*þer* syngiþ in chirche; but in foly, in bobans, and in likyng of þis world, 3e spendiþ al *þat* was y-3eue 3ou wiþ holy entent. Schal nou3t his wages be bynome hym *þat* wole nou3t do þe dedes of kny3thode? He *þat* holdiþ of ano*þer* & do*þ* nou3t his due[1] office & seruise, he schal lese his fee. And forto make an ende in þis questiou*n*, y schal schewe 3ow *þat* 3e au3t be sory & fonge remedye, wiþ ioye & wiþ gode wille, & rediþ þe chapitre of Holy Writt, 2° P*a*ralipom*enon* 24°. þ*er*e it is writ*en* in þis man*er* of kyng Joas: 'He dide what was[2] good & plesyng al þe tyme of Joab þe p*rest*.' Also 4° Regu*m* 12° c° hit is[3] writen: 'Kyng Joas cleped Joiada þe bischop & p*rest*es also, & seide to hem, Why restore 3e [4]nou3t þe holy helyng of þe temple? þ*a*nne fang 3e[4] no more money of þe peple by 3our*e* owne ordinau*n*ce, but 3eldiþ hit to restoring of þe t*em*ple & of Goddes[5] hous.' þanne þe p*rest*es were forbode to fonge more money of þe peple. Take

Because you spend your time in evil and folly, and do not perform your proper office and service, you should lose your fee as would a knight who neglected his duty.

Joas a good priest and was praised by God.

[1] dewe A C: þew Ch S. [2] *om.* C. [3] *om* A. [4–4] *om.* C. [5] God hys Ch.

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not for honestye, no nor for your owne lawe, nor for dedes of mercye and charite, but in foly and bobance and in lykynge of this worlde, ye* dispende al that was gyuen you for an holy 14 b entent. Shal not his wages be stopped, that wyll not doo dedes of knyghthode? He that holdeth of an other, and dothe not his due office and seruice he shall lose and forgoo his fee. And for to make an ende of this question, and to put you to sylence, I shall shewe you that, that shall make you sorye, and gladde to fynde the mene to set a remedy. Redeth in Holy wrytte. 2. Parali. Ca. 14. There it is wrytten of kynge Joas, that he dydde that that good was and pleasynge to oure Lorde alle the dayes of Joidas the preeste. And of the same kynge we rede iiij. Regum 12. Kynge Joas called Joida the bysshoppe, and also the prestes, and to them he sayd: Why repayre ye not the couerynge of the temple? Loke therefore that ye take no more money of the people by your owne ordynaunce, but applye it to the * instauration of the temple, and of Goddes 15 a house. And thus the preestes were forbydden to take any more money of the people. Wherefore thou seest, that kynge Joas

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hede how Kyng Joas was praysed of God, for he toke heede for þe offrynges schuld be spende in worschipe of God, by þe holy entent of hem þat ȝaf hem. God praisiþ kyng Joas forto schewe & leue vs ensample, þat Joas dide þat by myldnesse & by gode entent & nouȝt by couertise. And for þe kyng wolde put of euel suspecioun, he wold haue þe bischop wiþ hym to witnesse. Þane hit folewiþ, whanne he siȝ to myche money in þe tresory, þe kynges[1] writer & þe bischop wente vp into þe tresory, and helde out & tolde þe money þat was founden[2] in Goddes hous. Lo! þe good entent of þe kyng is y-praised þat toke hede,[3] þat[4] gode of þis olde chirche schuld be bisiliche y-saued & y-spend in gode vse & holy. I knowe hit well hit likeþ ȝou nouȝt to here þese wordes, & noþeles y speke nouȝt but wordes of Holy Writ. It is seide ȝou, þat ȝe haueþ y-fonge alle siche lord-

[1] kyng hys Ch.
[2] I founde A C Ch S.
[3] hede of C.
[4] þat þe A C Ch S.

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was preysed of our Lord, for that he toke hede, that the offrynges shulde be spended to Goddes worshyppe, that is to saye, to the instauration of the temple, accordynge to the holy entente of them that gaue suche thynges. God preysethe this Kynge Joas, for to shewe and leaue vnto vs ensaumple, that the sayde kynge, in his soo doynge, dydde not offende, for so moche as he dydde hit not for any couetousnesse, but of Goddelye zeale, not of ambition, but of deuoute relygyon. And the kynge, to the entente to eschewe yuelle suspeccion, he wolde haue the bysshoppe with hym to beare wytnesse, as foloweth.

15 b And whanne he sawe to moche moneye in the Treasaurye,* the kynges wryter and the bysshoppe wente vppe in to the Treasaurye, and poured oute and tolde the money, that was founde in goddes house; and they gaue hit after the noumbre and weyghte in to theyr handes, that were sourueyours of the masonrye of Goddes house. Lo the good intention of the kynge is preysed, that tooke hede, that the goodes of this olde churche shulde be besyle saued, and spente to a good and a holye vse. I knowe well it lyketh not you to here these wordes, and yet neuerthelesse I speke not but wordes of Holy Writte. It is sayde to you before, that ye haue resceyued all suche lorde-

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schipes & riches to help of youre lif to wages * of holy chyualrie, Fol. 4 a
to haue mete & drynke & cloþ; þerwiþ þe apostle seiþ þat he
helde hym apaide; and al þat is ouer þat nediþ to mete & Priests should use their surplus on poor men and deeds of mercy.
drynke & helyng, ȝe schulde spende in pore men & in dedes of
mercy. And ȝif ȝe do nouȝt so, [1]þanne we haueþ myche[1] to do
þerwiþ. For þanne hit falliþ to vs to take hede of ȝoure temporalte, þat ȝe bigile[2] þe quyk & þe dede.

Clericus. Þis kyng toke nouȝt þe godes & catel to his owne vse, This good king spent his goods for the use of holy church and not for chivalry as you do.
but he spende hit al[3] in holy chirche vse. ȝe takiþ oure catel
& spendiþ hit in chiualrie & nouȝt in vse of holy chirche. &
þerfore þe ensaumple þat ȝe bringiþ forþ is nouȝt aȝenus vs noþer aȝenus oure werkes and dedes; but ȝe coloure oþer wise ȝoure violence & ȝoure wrong.

Miles. Alwey to ȝoure owne harme ȝe kikeþ aȝenus þe pricke of kynges. Is it nouȝt greuous to ȝou þat ȝoure cosyns & ȝoure kynnesmen takiþ to hem of holy chirche goodes & catel, & som-

[1–1] þanne moche haue we C.
[2] bigile not C.
[3] *om.* C.

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shyppes and riches to the helpe of youre lyfe and as the wages
of holy chiualry, and to the intent to haue cloth and foode; with Tim. 6.
whiche two the apostell saythe, he * helde hym payde; and all 16 a
the ouer plus besyde clothe and foode, ye ought to spende in
dedes of mercye & pitie, as on poore people, that haue nede and
on suche as be sycke and diseased, and opressed with misery.
And if ye do not so, than muste we haue to do therwith: for
than it falleth to vs to take hede of your temporaltie, that ye
begyle not and deceyue the quycke and the deed.

Cle. This kynge Joas toke not the goodes and cattell to his
owne vse, but he bestowed them on holye churches vse. But
nowe a dayes ye toke our goodes, whiche ye spende not to the
vse of holy churche, but on your busy and vnruly souldiors,
and on shippes and ingins of warre. And therfore the
ensaumple that ye brynge forthe, is not agaynst vs, nor agaynst
our warkes and dedes; but ye wold therby colour your violence
and wronge.

Mi. Alway to your * owne harme ye kycke agaynste the 16 b
pricke of kynges. It is not greuous to you, that your cousins
and kynsmen take to them of holy churches goodes and cattelles,

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Your cousins and your kinsmen take the property of holy church. You are thus working against God Almighty.

tyme oþer persoones þat beþ nouȝt honeste in grete sclaundre to ȝou & to al þe peple þat is vnder ȝow, & beþ ful venymous by ȝoure owne euel ensaumple in lyuyng? Þis ȝe suffriþ þat may be cause of Goddes[1] wreþþe vppon þe kyng & vppon[2] al þe rewme, þat recchelesliche suffriþ ȝou so frowardliche worche aȝenus God Almyȝty. But ȝow semeþ þat hit is a greuous wronge, þat þe kyng axeþ myldliche[3] of ȝou & fangeþ & þankeþ ȝou, as for þinge þat is graciouslich y-graunted; and spendiþ hit nouȝt in his owne vse, but in ȝoure owne sauacioun & in defence of holy chirche, & of youre owne godes and catel.

Clericus. Allas! wo is me wrecched man, ȝe to-tereþ & to-haleþ & takiþ awey my flesche & my skyn, & þat ȝe clepiþ sauacioun.

Miles. Y pray ȝou leteþ be ȝoure noyse & ȝoure grucchying, & herkneþ pacientlich. Takeþ hede of ȝoure neiȝbores & of ȝoure pore sugetis, þat beþ ful many in lond, & takeþ hede of oþere þat fangeþ of ȝoure catel also. ȝif þe kynges[4] power

[1] God hys C.
[2] *om.* S.
[3] mekeliche A.
[4] kyng hys Ch.

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and somtyme other persons, that be not honest, to the sklaunden of you, and of all the people that be vnder you: and ye be full venomous through your owne yuell ensample of lyuynge. This ye suffre, the whiche may be cause of Goddes wrath vpon the kynge, and vpon all the realme, the whiche recklesly suffreth you so frowardly to worke agaynst Almyghty God. But to you it semeth a greuous wronge, and in no wyse to be suffered, that the kyng asketh mekely of you, and thanketh you for it, as for a thynge graciously granted; and yet he doth not spende hit to his owne vse, but for your saufegarde, and in the defence of holy churche, and of your goodes and cattell.

17 a Clericvs. * Alas WO is me wretched man, ye tere & hale away my flesshe and my skynne, and that ye calle saufgarde.

Miles. I praye you lettethe be your noyse and your grutchynge, and harkeneth paciently. Consyder your neyghbours about you, that be many in londe, whiche wantyng, wherwith to lyue, gape stylle after your goodes. If the kynges power

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fayled, what reste schulde ȝe have? Wolde nouȝt alle gentel men & oþere nedy & wasters, ȝif þei hadde wasted her owne, turne to ȝoure[1] & distrie al þat ȝe haueþ? Þanne þe kynges strengþe is to ȝow in stede of a wal; & it is knowen[2] þat þe kynges pees[3] is ȝoure pees,[3] his sauacioun is ȝoure sauacioun. For & þe kynges power were awey oþer wiþdrawe, þanne as ȝoure synnes axiþ now, þei þat comyneþ[4] wiþ ȝou now, þei þat werreþ vppon ȝou, wolde destruye & waste ȝoure gode, and compelle ȝou to be þralles. And ȝif ȝe wolde nouȝt, al þat ȝe haueþ were loste. How myche þanne wolde ȝe paye for to[5] haue þe kynges[6] socour & his helpe, as ȝe hadde raþer? Þanne ȝe seeþ[7] þat whanne ȝe ȝeueþ a lytel what[8] to þe kyng, ȝe biggeþ ȝoure owne sauacioun & saueþ ȝoure owne[9] goodes & catel, þat schulde be distried wiþ ȝoure owne neiȝbores & wiþ men of straunge londes, nere þe kynges[10] help & his socoure.[10]

In time of distress and trouble, the king's strength is to you instead of a wall.

If the king's power were withdrawn you would become thralls, or lose all your goods.

[1] ȝoure owne C.
[2] I knowe A C Ch S.
[3–3] *om.* & C.
[4] comuneþ A C S: comneþ Ch.
[5] *om.* S.
[6] kyng hys Ch.
[7] sueþ S.
[8] *om.* C.
[9] *om.* S.
[10–10] socour & his help S.

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faylled, what reste shulde ye haue? Wolde not the gentyll men, suche as be nedy, and suche as prodigallye haue spende away theyr substance, whanne they haue consumed theyr owne, wol not they turne to yours, and waste and distroye all that ye haue? Therfore the kynges strength is to you in stede of a stronge walle. And ye wotte very welle, that the knyges peace is youre peace; and the kynges saufegarde is your saufegarde. For if the kynges power wanted, or elles were withdrawn * 17 b from you: than (as your synnes asketh) they that commune with you now, and they that wayte vpon you nowe, wold dystroy, waste, and consume your goodes, and compell you to be theyr thralles. And if ye wold not, all that ye have were vtterlye loste. Howe moche than wolde ye paye for to haue the kynges succour his helpe and defence, as ye had before? Than thus ye se and perceyue many festlye, that whan ye gyue a lyttell portion to the kynge, you bye therwith your owne safegarde, and therby ye saue to youre selfe, youre goodes and your cattals, that shuld be distroyde by your ennemies, and by men of

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If the king failed you, would not your enemies make war upon you and put you out of your place?

But alwey ȝe haueþ be vnkynde to þe goodnesse þat me haþ y-do[1] ȝou; and so now ȝe playneþ & grucchiþ in ȝoure owne profit. ȝif þe kyng failed wolde nouȝt ȝoure enemyes werre vppon ȝou, & put ȝou out of ȝoure place[2] & [3] of ȝoure lond,[4] & take of ȝou al þat ȝe haueþ, & leue ȝou pore, naked, & bare? But ȝif[5] kynges & princes schal put hem to peryle of deþ for ȝou, & defende ȝou vppon her owne coste,[6] & ȝe reste vnder her wynges, &[7] ete & drynke wiþ grete solace & myrþe, & lye in nesche beddes & sikerliche slepe, & do hem no socour wiþ ȝoure riches in help of her coste, þanne it semeþ þat ȝe wolde
Fol. 4 b mene þat onliche ȝe * beþ verrey lordes, and kynges & princes of bonde condicioun, & so made þralles. Þouȝ men of holy chirche haue reste y-graunted hit is nouȝt grete, but þe riches mot serue for men of holy chirche. ȝe seyn þat þis is harde, & ȝe resteþ nouȝt but gruccheþ alwey, er ȝe be ouercome &

[1] y do to S.
[2] places S.
[3] & out C.
[4] londes S.
[5] ȝif þe C.
[6] costes C.
[7] *om.* A C Ch S.

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straunge londes, ne were the kynges helpe and his succour. But as ye haue alway ben vnkynd, for the goodnes that he hathe done to you; euen so now ye playne and grutche, agaynste that that is
18 a youre owne profyte. If the kynge fayled * you wolde not youre ennemyes warre vppon you, and putte you oute of your place, and out of your lande, and take frome you all that ye haue, and leue you poore, naked, and bare? and so stryken with terrible drede, wolde ye not put your selfe to flyghte, and wander ye forced not whyther? But and kynges and princis at theyr owne costes, and to theyr great peryll and daunger of theyr lyfes, be holden to defende you; and you to reste vnder theyr wynges, and to eate & drynke with great solace and myrthe, and to lye in softe and delicate beddes, and sikerly to slepe, than it semethe, that ye wolde meane, that onely ye be verye lordes, and kynges and princis be of bonde condicion, and vnto you seruantes and thralles.

If reste be graunted to men of the churche, it is no great
18 b thynge if the ryches be reserued for vs of the lay * fee. This is an harde thynge, saye ye, but ye wyll not reste, tylle ye be

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y-schend as ȝe beþ wont by Holy Writ, þat ȝe[1] mowe nouȝt wiþstonde. For of kyng Joas þat we spake of raþer, hit is writen,[2] 4° Regum 2° c°: 'Joas kyng of Juda toke al þat was halwed þat Josophath, Aaron & his fader Ocosias kyng of Juda had halwed, & þat he had y-offred, & al þe siluer þat he myȝt fynde in þe tresory of þe temple & in þe kynges[3] palys, & sent[4] to Asael kyng of Siria, & þo he went from[5] Jerusalem.' Lo![6] openlich þou myȝt se þat he toke þat þat was halewide in Goddes[7] hous, forto paye raunsoum for[8] þe peple, & noþeles he spared nouȝt þe kynges[9] palys whanne he toke al þat out of þe temple. Also 3° Regum 18° c°, Ezechias brake þe values of þe temple of oure Lord & toke þe plates of golde þat he hym silf had do[10] þere, & ȝaf hem to þe kyng of Assiria. And ȝif

Holy Writ tells how Joas king of Juda took the hallowed silver from the temple and sent it to the king of Assyria to pay the ransom of the people.

Ezechias did likewise.

[1] *om.* S.
[2] I write A C Ch S.
[3] kyng hys Ch.
[4] sent hym C.
[5] *left margin* H; to *deleted in text*.
[6] lo hou S.
[7] God hys Ch.
[8] to C.
[9] kyng hys Ch.
[10] I doo A C Ch S.

(as ye are wont) conuicted and also confounded by holy scripture; ageinst the whiche ye can not resiste. For of Joas the kynge, (of whome we spake before) hit is wrytten in the 4. boke of Kynges, the 12. chaptre, and in the seconde booke of Parali, the 24. chapyter thus: wherfore Joas the kynge of Juda tooke all that was halowed the which thinges Joram & Ochozias his fathers, kynges of Juda had halowed, and whiche thynges he hym selfe hadde offered vppe, and all the syluer that he coude fynde in the treasaurye of the lorde, and Palaice of the kynge, and sente it to Azael, the kynge of Syrie, and he departed from Jerusalem. Lo, here thou mayst plainly see, that for to paye the peoples raunsomme, he toke those thynges oute of the temple not withstan*dynge he spared not the kynges palayce, 19 a whan he toke those thynges out of the temple.

Also in the 4. boke of Kynges, Cap. 18, it is thus redde of the holy Kynge Ezechias. The same season Ezechias braake the gates of the temple of the lorde, and toke the plates of golde, that he hym selfe had there stycked vppe, and gaue them to the Kynge of Assiriens.

And if thou woldest saye, that Ezechias did amysse, I

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Holy Writ praises these men, whom you condemn.

God chooses not the people for the places, but the places for the people.

Your good is the good of Holy Church, and therefore of the people who make the church.

þou seist þat Ezechias dide amys, ich answere for[1] Paralipomenon 32° c°, it is writen þat Ezechias was blamed[2] for noon of alle his werkis[3] & dedes, but onliche for þe message of þe princes of Babilon. Who schal dampne hym þat Holy Writ praiseþ in alle his dedes? But ȝe erreþ & knoweþ nouȝt þe soþnesse & þe vertue of Holy Writ. But what is þat aȝenus kynges & princes? 2° Machabeorum 6° c°, hit is writen þat 'God chesiþ nouȝt þe peple for þe places,[4] but þe places[4] for þe peple.' Þanne me schal not spare þe chirche of lyme & of stoones whanne Cristen men beþ in peryle. & Ezechias[4] & Josephath vnderstode wel þat, & Ezechias[4] fulfilled hit wel truliche. ȝif ȝoure[5] gode is holy chirche gode, & þe peple is a grete partye of holy chirche, schal nouȝt þanne holy chirche gode skilfullich be spend in helpe & sauacioun of þe peple? And so hit folewiþ, þat hit longeþ to þe goostlich[6] holy chirche. And oure Lord, by[7] Math. in[7] 12° c° seiþ: 'Y telle ȝow þis is more þanne þe temple.' For hit is no doute þe gostliche temple,

[1] to C.
[2] not I blamed A C.
[3] werk C.
[4–4] *om.* C.
[5] oure A C.
[6] goostlich of A C.
[7–7] *om.* A C Ch S.

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aunswere as it is sayde Secundo Paralipo, cap. 32. Ezechias is not blamed for any of all his workes, that he dyd, but onely for the message of the princis of Babylon. Thanne who shall dampne hym, the whiche Holye Wrytte preysethe in all his dedes? If he erre, not vnderstandynge the sothenesse and the veritie of Holye Wrytte, wherfore than stryue you agaynste
19 b kynges and princis? * It is red Secundo Machab. quinto. Godde chose not the people for the place, but the place for the people. Therfore the churche of lyme and stone shuld not be spared, whan the Chrysten people be in perylle. The which thynge the holy kynge Ezechiel and Joseph vnderstode and truly dyd fulfyll.

If your goodes be holy churches goodes, and the people is a great parte of holy church; shal not than holy churches goodes skylfully be spended for the succour and saufegarde of the people? And so it foloweth, that it longethe to the ghostlyche of holy churche. And our Lorde saythe, Matthei duodesimo. I tell you, this is more than the temple. For it is no doubt

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þat is mankynde, is more worþe þan þe temple þat is made of lyme & of[1] stoon. Þanne a kyng þat is mylde & wys most knowe [2]Goddes wille Almy3ty[2]; & hym nediþ nou3t to seche[3] auctorite of oþer men. & me schal nou3t spare þe temple of lyme & of[4] stoon forto wynne pees and sauacioun to þe peple þat is in peryle. And me schal flatrie wiþ þe chirche þat haþ y-now3 & somwhat more, but me schal socour þe grete nede of Cristen men. But for þe kyng as forþe as he may wole do what is lawful to hym by þe lawe of God Almy3ty by 3oure assent & 3oure gode wille, 3ow schameþ nou3t to a3ensaye[5] þe kyng þat doþ graciouslich wiþ 3ou, & gouerneþ 3ow godelich alwey. But beþ war for[6] Salomon seiþ[7]: 'Þe kynges[8] wreþ is deþes messager.'

The spiritual temple of mankind is more worthy than the temple made of lime and stone.

The duty of the king to his people in need as by the law of God, which you oppose.

Clericus.[9] May what is ones y3eue be wiþcleped & wiþdrawe? Þanne may euereche avowe be destried & fordo.

[1] *om.* C.
[2–2] God Almy3ties wil A C Ch S.
[3] such S.
[4] *om.* A C.
[5] wiþseie A C Ch S.
[6] of C.
[7] *om.* A C Ch.
[8] kyng hys C.
[9] *above line in red ink, and in left margin,* H.

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the ghostly temple, that is mankynde, is more worth than the temple that is made of lyme and stone.

Therfore a mylde and a prudente kynge mote by these wordes knowe * the wylle of Allmyghty God; and hym nedeth 20 a not to seke auctorite of other. Nor the temple of lyme and stone, nor the thynges dedicated therin, shulde not be spared to wyn peace and saufegarde to the people, that is in perill. Nor we shuld not smyle (after a flaterynge facion) at the superfluite of the churche, but se that the great multitude of Christen people be holpe and succoured in theyr nede. And though the kynge dealeth gratiously with you, and goodly gouerneth you alway, yet ye be not ashamed to withsay hym in that that he may lawfully do by the lawe of God Almyghty, and wyll not with your good wyll therto assent. But take hede and beware by the wordes of Solomon: The kynges wrathe is the messanger of deathe.

Cle. If those thynges that are ones gyuen to God, may be withdrawen & taken away agayne * than all vowes may be made 20 b voyde & fordone.

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What is given to God is hallowed to holy use. What is more holy than the salvation of Christian men?

Myles.[1] Þat ich haue yseide is nou3t wiþclepyng of 3iftes *þat* beþ y3eue to God Almy3ty; but hit is þe puttinge & turnyng of siche 3iftes to þe[2] vse to þe whiche vse þei were first y-3eue. What is y-3eue to God is halwed to holy vse & mylde. What is more holy þan þe sauacioun of Cristen men? What is licher to þe doom of God þan[3] wiþstonde & put of enemyes, þeeues, Fol. 5 a mansleers, * from Cristen men, & bigge pees to trewe men *þat* beþ suget[4] to 3ow? Þanne whanne þei beþ trulich y-spend in siche vse,[5] þei beþ verreilich y-spend in þe vse[5] for þe whiche þei were halewed & y-3eue to.[6] 3if 3e takiþ 3ow to Holy Writ, why wiþsigge 3e oure priuyleges & oure fredom þat we haueþ by Holy Writ? Math. 17°, Oure Lord spekiþ to Petre & axeþ of hym in þis maner: 'Þe kynges of erþe, of whom fangeþ þei tribute, of þe sones oþer of straungers?'. [5] & Petre answerde & seide 'of straungers'.[5] And þanne Crist seide: 'Þanne þe sones

[1] *in margin* H.
[2] *om.* A C.
[3] þan to C.
[4] sogettis C.
[5–5] *om.* C.
[6] Clericus *after* to A C Ch S.

Mr. That that I haue sayd is not to withdrawe and take away gyftes, that are gyuen to Allmyghty God; but to tourne and apply those gyftes to suche vse, for the whiche they were fyrste gyuen. For those gyftes that are gyuen to God, the very same gyftes are dedicated to holy and charitable vses. And what thynge can be more holy thanne the sauation of Christen people? And what is more precious vnto oure Lorde, thanne to defende and sauely kepe the Christen people from the inuasion of theyr ennemies, theues & murtherers, & to bye peace to the true and faythfull subiectes? Therfore whan the goodes of the churche be spent on this wyse, than are they bestowed to suche vse, for the whiche they were fyrst dedicate and gyuen.

21 a Cleri. If ye take you to Holy Wryt, why do ye with * saye and breake our priuileges and fredomes; whiche lyberties we haue by Holy Wrytte? For our Lorde Mat. 17, sayde vnto Peter: Howe semeth hit vnto the Symon, The Kynges of the erthe, of whome take they tribute, of theyr owne sonnes or els of other? of other sayde Peter. Jesus sayde to hym: Than are the sonnes free. But leste we offende them, go vnto the

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beþ fre. Þat we sclaundre hem nouȝt, go þou to þe see & cast yn a fische hook, & þe first fische þat comeþ[1] vp opene his mouþe & þou schalt fynde a stater; take þat & ȝeue hem for [2]me & for þee[2]'. Knyȝtes, ȝe seeþ þat clerkes þat beþ occupied in Cristes[3] seruise, beþ fre in alle poyntes. Clerks that are occupied in the service of Christ are free in all points.

Miles. ȝif þe gospel is take ariȝt, þe tribute was axed onlich of Crist, & onlich for hym þat[4] ȝaf,[5] answere was y-ȝeue; for he is Goddes[6] sone & þe grete kynges[7] sone. & [8] as þe kynges[7] sone is gretter þan þe bischop, so is Goddes[6] sone gretter þan [9]Emperour, & so þat answere was y-ȝeue for Crist & nouȝt for ȝow. Nobeles þei þat[4] serueþ þe kyng in his presence schal nouȝt be put to comyn & greuouse charges; so we graunteþ þat clerkes in her owne persoone beþ fre, but nouȝt þei þat lede her lif as lewide men & nouȝt as clerkes to þe worschipe, but to[10] gyle & fraude of oure Lord, as hit is y-seye alday. But clerkes þat folewiþ We grant that clerks in their own persons are free, but not those who live lewd lives.

[1] come S.
[2-2] þe & for me A C.
[3] Crist hys Ch.
[4] þat þat C.
[5] *om.* S.
[6] God hys Ch.
[7] kyng hys Ch.
[8] *om.* A C.
[9] þan þe A C Ch S.
[10] *om.* A C: to þe Ch S.

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see, and caste in a fysshe hooke, and the fyrste fysshe that commethe vppe, open his mouthe, and thou shalte fynde a stater, take that, and gyue it for me and for the. Ye se Sir Knyght that the clergie, bonde to the seruice of God is free in all poyntes.

Mi. If ye wyll consider, and vnderstonde the gospelle aryght (ye may se) that the tribute or dragme was demaunded onely of Christe: And onely for Christe this aunswere semeth to be gyuen: for he is the verye sonne * of God, the sonne of the greatte myghty kynge. And as the kynges sonne is greatter than the bysshop; So is Goddes sonne greatter than the emperour. And so that aunswere was gyuen for Christe, and not for you. Neuer the lesse bycause they, that chieffely serue the kynge in his presence, shulde not be put to common and greuous charges, so we grant that clerkes in theyr owne persones be free, but not they, that leade theyr lyfes as leude men, and not as clerkes to the worshyppe, but to the gyle, and fraude of oure Lorde, as hit is all daye sene. But clerkes that 21 b

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The clerks who follow Christ are free, not by the gospel, but by the privileges of kings and princes.

Crist, as prestes þat seruеþ þe auter, & beþ occupied in holy seruise of God, we graunteþ atte fulle þat þei beþ fre; but y say nouȝt playnlich by þe gospel, but hit semiþ acordyng to þe gospel, hit is graunted hem by pryuyleges of princes & of kynges. For siþþe þe bygynnyng of holy chirche, Poul seide ad Romanos 13° c°: 'Euerech soule be suget to þe heiȝeste lordes nouȝt onliche for wreþþe, but for good conscience'; & afterward in þe same chapitre:[1] 'ȝeldeþ & payeþ to alle men what is dewe,[2] to hem to whom tribute is dewe,[2] payeþ tribute.

Paul says: 'to whom tribute is due pay tribute', but ye are now free in your own person by privilege of princes.

And to whom[3] oþer rente and seruise[4] is dewe payeþ hem oþer rent & seruise.' Lo! take hede þat euereche is y-holde to be suget to tribute oþer rent & seruise.[4] But ȝe beþ now fre in ȝoure owne persoone by priuylege of princes. But schal ȝoure feldes haue now þe same fredom, ȝif holy chirche biggeþ a felde þat is able to be y-telied? Schal he þat haþ þerof euerech ȝere rente & tribute leese his rent & his tribute?

Clericus. We spekiþ nouȝt of rente & tribute, but of doyng & dedes.

[1] manere C.
[2] þewe Ch S.
[3] wam Ch.
[4–4] *om.* C.

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folowe Criste, as pristes that serue at the aulter, and that are fully gyuen and occupied in the seruyce of God, we graunt that those be free, I saye not clerely by the gospelle: but bycause in theyr so doynge hit discordethe not from the gospelle, that
22 a fredome is gyuen * them by priuileges of princis. For sith the begynnynge of the churche Paule ad Ro. 13. saith: Euery soule be subiect to the higher powers, not onely (saythe he after) for wrathe, but also for conscience. And after folowynge he sayth: Yelde and paye to all men that is due to them: to whom tribute is due, paye tribute: to whom custome is due, paye custome. Than ye se, that euery soule must be subiecte, beare tribute, and pay custome. But as I haue sayde, ye be nowe free in your owne persone, by priuileges of princis: but shal your feldes haue now the same freedome? If holye churche bye a felde that is able to be tylled: shall he that hath therof euery yere rent and tribute, lose his rente and trybute?

Cle. Our communication nowe is not of rent and tribute, but of exactions.

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Miles. As ich haue of *som*me feldes *cer*tayn silu*er* o*per* gold, so ha*þ* *þ*e Emp*erour* of his empire, & *þ*e kyng of his kyngd*om* may at his owne will arere skilful t*ri*bute for defens of *þ*e comyn p*ro*fit. Hit is *gra*unted by clere resou*n*, *þat* *þ*e comyn p*ro*fit schal be defended vppon *þ*e cost of *þ*e comynte; & what p*ar*tie hit eu*er* be *þat* is defended by *þ*is defens, hit is ri*3*tful *þat* he put wi*þ* o*þere* men his schulder vnd*er* *þ*e charge. *Þ*anne *3*if possessiou*n*s bu*þ* as ri*3*tfullich suget to *þ*e comyn charge as to *þ*e *3*eres[1] rente, *þ*ei[2] schul be vnder charge who *þat* hem[3] eu*er* owe specialich, *3*if hit nedi*þ* for defens of *þ*e comynte; for hem nedi*þ* *þ*e comyn defens as alle o*þer* nedi*þ*. *3*if *3*e[4] seyn nay, by cause of p*rescri*pciou*n* and custom, *þat* *3*e haue*þ* y-vsed in *þ*e contrarie[5] in longe fredome, we answere*þ* *3*ou in as myche as *3*oure fredom is *þ*e[6] lenger by goodness & myldnesse of p*ri*nces* & of kynges, in so myche *3*e schulde be *þ*e more redy & wilful

The king must have tribute to defend the common people.

Fol. 5 b

[1] *3*eres ende A: (*but* ende *crossed out*): *3*er hys Ch.
[2] he A C: a Ch S.
[3] *þ*ei A: *þ*en C: ham Ch: evere hem S.
[4] he C.
[5] cuntreye S.
[6] *om.* S.

Mr. Lyke as I haue of some felde certayne rente; so the* Emperour of his empire, and the kynge of his kyngdome, may at his owne wyll reyse skylfull tribute for the defence of the common welthe. It is graunted by clere reason, that the common welthe shall be defended at the costes of the commontie; and what so euer part therof enioyeth this defence, it is moste agreinge with ryght, that he set to his shulder, and helpe to beare the burthen. Than if possessions be as ryghtfully subiecte to the common charge, as tø the yeres rente, he shall be vnder charge, who so euer oweth them, specially if it nedeth for the defence of the common welth; for they nede the comon defence, as al other nede. If ye say nay bycause of prescription and custome, that ye haue of so longe tyme vsed that lybertie: We answere you, In as moche longer, and of olde continuance that your fredome & libertie, by the good*nes and liberall benignite of kynges and princis, so moche the sooner ye shulde be prompte and redye with haste and mynde to pay your part and helpe forwarde, where nede required. For Holy Wrytte fordoth this prescription, that ye alledge. For from Salomon

22 b

23 a

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The Church should do its share in a time of need, as certain cities which were freed by custom, paid with good will.

forto paye in tyme of nede.[1] Also many citees þat were fre of paiyngis by priuyleges & customs, payde wiþ gode wille, & ȝitt doþ atte princes wille for defens & sauacioun of þe kyngdom, of þe[2] persones & of þe comynte. ȝif God for vnkyndenesse[3] wiþclepiþ forȝeuenesse of synne, beþ ȝe[4] war þat ȝe be nouȝt worþi to bere more charge bycause of ȝoure vnkyndnesse[3] & rebelnesse, & to lese atte laste youre catel & ȝoure power.

Can the king take from us grace that was granted to us by his predecessors?

Clericus. Schal þe kyng take from us grace þat is graunted us by kynges þat were his predecessours & by oþere noble princes? & may he[5] vndo priuyleges þat beþ graunted to[6] hym of olde tyme by noble princes?

Kings of old granted you certain

Miles. Forsoþe y graunte þat grete priuyleges beþ graunted to ȝou by noble princes & kynges. Þerfore ȝe schulde knowe þat al þat[7] gouernours of þe comynte doþ, þei doþ hit al for

[1] Written after 'nede': 'Vor holy writ vordoþ þis prescripcyon þat ȝe aleggeþ. Vor vram Salomon to Joas & vram Joas to Ezechias, hyt ys yrad of no suche doyng, as Ezechias dude yn tyme of neode.' A C Ch S.

[2] *om.* C.

[3–3] *repeated* C.

[4] þe A: *om.* C Ch.

[5] be A C Ch.

[6] to ȝow A.

[7] þat þe A C Ch: þat þat S.

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to Joas, and from Joas to Ezechiell it is redde of no suche doynge, as Ezechiell dydde in tyme of nede. Also many cytyes, that were by priuileges and custome free from payenge of exactions; haue both paciently payde, and also do pay with good wyll at this day, at their princis pleasure, for the defence of the realme, of the commonaltie, or of persons. If God for vnkyndenes, calleth agayne forgyuenes of synne; beware lest for your rebellyon, that ye deserue no lesse, but also to be further charged, and at the laste to be strypped from al your goodes and power.

23 b Cle. Shall * the kynge beryne and take awaye from vs, the gracis granted vs by kynges, that were his predecessours and by other noble princis? And may he fordo the priuileges of blessed fathers granted to holy church?

Mi. I deny not it is trouthe, great and large priuileges be to you granted by kynges and princis. Therfore ye oughte to vnderstande and knowe that what so euer the gouernours of the

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profit of þe comynte [1] tofore her owne sauacioun; and þat doyng is blisful in princes & in kynges by ensaumple of Holy Writ. 2° Regum 6° c°. Þerfore it is knowen by witnesse cleer and trewe & by certeyn resoun, þat þei graunteþ nouȝt by her witynge [2] þat schuld afterward be harme & damage to þe comynte. But ȝif eny priuylege þat is graunted, is y-founde & y-knowe harmful & greuous to þe comynte, hit schuld be wiþcleped in tyme of nede [3] in help of þe rewme. Princes & kynges may bynyme [4] ȝow grace þat is to ȝou [5] y-graunted . & as tyme axeþ we fyndeþ þat Salomon þe wise in peynyng of þeefþe, chaungide

privileges for the profit of the people, and not for harm and damage.

[1] in so muche þat hey putteþ þe sauacion of þe comynte S.
[2] writynge A C.
[3] for profiȝt of þe comynte; Doute ȝou nouȝt þat in tyme of nede S.
[4] bemene C.
[5] *om.* C.

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comon welth do, they intended it all together for the profite of the comon weale, hauynge regarde speciallye thervnto accordynge to this rule. They dispose all thynges in suche wyse, that they preferre the common welthe before theyr owne; whiche in a prince is a thynge moste gloryous, wherof Dauid is example. II. Regum. Therfore it is knowen by witnes clere and true and eke by very reason, that they graunte nothyng by theyr writinge,* that shulde afterwarde be harme and domage to the common weale. But if any priuilege that is graunted, be founde and knowen hurtefull and greuous to the common weale, it maye be repelled and fordone in tyme of nede. Therfore it is not to be doubted, but that the hygh princis for the necessary busynes of the realme, maye alter and chaunge (as reason and tyme requireth) the gracis and priuileges to you granted, and by the lawes establysshed. As we rede of the mooste wyse kynge Salomon, in the peyne of thefte, chaunged some what of goddes lawe. 24 a

Cleri. The emperours and not the kynges haue establisshed tho thynges. Therfore, nowe Syr Knyghte the emperours must gyde the raynes of the lawes.

Mi. This answer is blasphemous. And eyther (as it semeth) ye are ignoraunte of the begynnynge of a * kyngedome, or else (whiche is moste lykely) ye enuie the hygh estate of the realme. If ye well beholde the actes of greatte Charlemayne, or lysted 24 b

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Because the king is above all others in the land, he is above customs, privileges and freedom while he is a rightful king with full power.

somwhat of Goddes[1] lawe. For as þe Emperour may make lawe in þe empire & put oþer law þer-to, oþer wiþdrawe somme of his owne lawe, so may þe kyng of Fraunce put of[2] al þe emperours lawe, & change euereche partie þer-of at his owne likyng, oþer exile hem & put hem out of his lond & make newe lawes at his owne wille. For ȝif any happe falliþ wherfore hit nediþ to make eny[3] maner statute, ȝif þe kyng may nouȝt do hit in his owne lond, þanne noon oþer may; for aboue hym is no man in his lond. & þerfore sire clerk chastiþ ȝoure tonge & knowlechiþ þat þe kyng may be aboue[4] customs, priuyleges, & fredoms while he is riȝtful kyng wiþ ful power, & þat he may putt to priuyleges & lawes, & wiþdrawe &

[1] God hys Ch.
[2] *om.* C.
[3] euery C.
[4] aboue ȝoure S.

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to rede the auncient approued hystories; ye shall fynde, that the realme of Fraunce is but a portion of the empire by a iust diuision seperated from it, and was by the space of 500 yeres egall therto bothe in dignitee and auctoritie. Therfore what so euer priuilege of dignite the empire holdeth in one part the same holdeth the realme of Fraunce in another. For whan by brotherne the realme of Fraunce was deuyded from the other parte of the empire: What so euer lawes power, or dignite the empire opteined and exercysed ouer and vppon the sayde parte thus diuided, the verye selfe power fell to the frenche kynge. And therfore lyke as all thynges conteyned within the boundes
25 a of the empire,* is well knowen to be subiecte to the empyre; so lykewyse all thynges within the boundes of the realme, be subiecte to the realme! And lyke as the emperour may make lawes ouer al his empire, and to them adde more or diminisshe, as he thinketh good; so maye the Kynge of Fraunce, eyther vtterly repelle the emperours lawes, or change which of them hym lyste: or els cleane exilynge and fordoynge these lawes, maye at his pleasyre ordeyne and make newe. For whan nede shuld requyre (as it ofte chaunceth) to enact and ordeyne a statute, if the kynge that is the chiefe, coude not do it; than there is none other that canne; for there is none aboue hym. And therfore syr clerke refrayne your tongue, and aknowlege the kynge by his royall power to be aboue your lawes, customes

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chaunge & redresse euereche þat erreþ by[1] *con*sail of reso*un* & assent of lordes as hit semeþ þat reso*un* axiþ. & þer*fore* 3if 3e haueþ y-seye[2] ou3t redressed o*þer* chaungide in help of þe kyngdom, suffre 3e hit pacientliche. For Poul þe apostle ad Ro*man*os 13° c° seiþ: 'Who þat wiþstondiþ [3]power wiþstondiþ[3] Goddes [4] ordina*un*ce.' Þanne no man kike[5] vnri3tfullich a3en*us* þe pricke & þat 3e busche[6] nou3t 3our*e* self a3en*us* þe pricke of syn*ne*. 'Beþ suget to 3our*e* sou*ereynes* & beþ vnd*er* hem', so seiþ Paul ad Thimo*theum* 19° c°. In Abiathars tyme pr*ince* of pres*tes*, David eet & 3af hem þat were wiþ hym to ete in tyme of nede, loues þat were cleped panes pr*o*posicionis, þat were ordeyned onliche for pr*es*tes, & noon o*þer* had leue þerof forto ete. Also in þe gospel hit is writen: 'þe holy day is made for man & nou3t man for þe holy day.'

Be subject to your sovereign and be under him.

The holy day is made for man, and not man for the holy day.

Explicit dialogus inter clericum & militem.

[1] be C.
[2] y saye at þis tyme A C Ch S.
[3–3] *wr. in margin* Ch.
[4] God hys Ch.
[5] like A: *crossed out and* kike *in margin* S.
[6] busshe A C: boysche Ch: booche S.

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priuileges, and liberties; and that he may by the aduise * of his nobuls adde or diminyssche what so euer he thynke accordynge with equite and reson: and therfore what so euer he changeth in those dayes for the welthe of the realme, take it well in worthe and paciently suffre it. For so Paule teachethe you writynge to the Romaynes the XIII. Chapter, where he sayth: who that resisteth the hygh power, resysteth the ordynaunce of god. And agayne in the ende of the pistell to the Hebrewes he saythe: Obeye ye to your soueraynes, and humble your selfe to them. 25 b

Also Kyng Dauid, I. Regum 21, vnder Abiathor the prince of the pristis, in tyme of nede dyd not alonelye eate the breade called panes propositionis, (Wherof to eate it was not lefull for any man except the priestes) but also gaue the same breade to eate to them that were with hym. And it is written Marke the II. Chap. The * holy day is made for man and not man for the holy day. And so the Lorde is the sonne of man, and also is Lorde of the holy day. It is written in the fyrst boke 26 a

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of Parali, the 39. Chap. In thy hande is the greatnes and empire of all. It sayth farther there: They honored God, and than the kynge. And it sayth there. They secondely anointed Salomon the sonne of Kynge Dauid, they anoynted him in our Lorde to be their prince, and Sadoch to be theyr bysshop. And, 2. Parali, 23, it saythe: Nor none other shulde entre in to the house of our lord but priestes, and suche of the deacons as ministred, they all onely shulde entre in, bycause they be halowed: and all the residue of the common people shulde kepe the watche of our Lorde. The deacons inuironned the kynge aboute euery man hauynge his armour. And if any other
26 b entred into * the temple of the Lord he was slayn. They shulde attende vpon the kynge bothe whan he entred in, and whan he wente out. Also Joada the bysshoppe anoynted hym, and his children prayde for hym and sayd,

God saue the Kynge.

CLE. It draweth faste towarde nyght: to morowe mornyng I wyll answere you to euery thynge. FINIS.

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CVM PRIVILEGIO.

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PART II

RICHARD FITZRALPH'S SERMON: 'DEFENSIO CURATORUM'

Harl. 1900.

'Demeþ nouȝt by þe face but riȝtful doom ȝe deme,' John 8° c°. John 8. 15?

Holy fader, *in* þe bygynnyng of my sermoun, ich make a *pro*testacioun, þat it is nouȝt myn entent to affirme to say, noþer to holde eny þinge, þat is contrarie to Cristen feiþ, oþer to Cristen lore. Also, þat it is nouȝt myn entent to counsaile, noþer[1] axe destruccioun & vndoyng of þe ordres of beggers, þat beþ[2] appreued by holy chirche, & confermed of popes; but y schal make euidence,[3] & consaile þat þese[4] ordres schulde be brouȝt to þe clennesse of her first ordenaunce; & ich am alwey redy to þe correccioun of ȝoure holynesse. And forto descende anoon to my mater; Lo! holy fader, ich came in a tyme to Londoun for certeyn nedes of my chirche of Armachan, & fonde þere wise doctors stryue vppon þe beggerie, & beggyng of þe Lord oure Saueoure. & ofte ich was preyed to preche to þe peple, and ich preched seuen sermouns oþer eiȝte to þe peple in her owne tonge, wiþ þe[5] protestacioun þat ich haue seide & tolde, [6]þere nyne[6] conclusiouns. For þese[7] conclusiouns, & oþer þingis, þat ich þere seide, freres þouȝ[8] hit turne hem to a iape, appelide to þis[9] court.

I shall make evidence and counsel that these orders should be brought to the clearness of their first ordinance.

I came to London and preache seven or eight sermons to the people.

Friars have turned these nine conclusions to a jape.

Þe firste conclusioun was þis: Oure Lord Ihesus, in his conuersacioun of manhed, alwey was pore, nouȝt for he wolde & loued pouert by-cause of hitsilf. Þe secunde conclusioun is[10] þis: Oure Lord Ihesus neuer beggide wilfulliche. Þe þridde

The nine conclusions: 1. Jesus was always poor. 2. He never wilfully begged.

[1] noþer to C.
[2] buþ Ch.
[3] euydences S.
[4] þues Ch.
[5] *om.* C.
[6–6] þerynne C.
[7] þe A C: þe whiche S.
[8] þei (y) A C: þeiȝ S.
[9] þis holy S.
[10] was A C Ch S.

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3. He never taught to wilfully beg.
4. He taught that no man should wilfully beg.
5. No man may be holy and accept what he begs wilfully.
6. Wilful begging is not the rule of Friars.
7. Pope Alex. IV does not oppose any of the aforesaid conclusions.
8. The Parish church is the proper place to shrive parishioners.
9. The Parish priest is the proper person to shrive parishioners.
I pray your holyness that you consider my conclusions, as well as the contrary conclusions of the Friars, and judge accordingly.

*con*clusioun: Crist neuer tauȝt wilfulliche to[1] begge. Þe ferþe *con*clusioun was þis: Oure Lord Ihesus tauȝte þat no man schuld wilfulliche begge. Þe fifþe[2] *con*clusioun was þis: no man may redilich & holiliche wilful beggyng vppon hym take, euermore to holde. Þe sixte *con*clusioun was þis: hit is nouȝt of þe reule of frere menours, wilful begginge to kepe & holde. Þe vii[3] *con*clusioun in þat mater was þis: þe ferþe pope Alisaundre's bille,[4] þat dampneþ þe libel of maistres, wiþseiþ noon of þe forseide *con*clusiouns. Þe viii[5] *con*clusioun, & þe first, in mater of priuyleges was þis: for parischons of eny chirch to schryue hem wiþ exclusioun of oþer places,[6] þe parische chirche is more worþi to be chosen[7] þan oratory oþer chirche of freres. Þe ix[8] *con*clusioun, [9] & þe secunde[9] in þis[10] mater is þis: for parischons of eny chirche to schryue hem onlich to oon persone, þe ordenarye persone is more worþi to be chosen þan eny freres persone.

Þese *con*clusiouns, holy fader, in myn open sermouns, wiþ Holy Writ, & resouns, ich preued, as ich myȝt & schal also declare hem at þis time as God grauntеþ[11] grace, & somwhat harder y schal put herto now in þis place as ich bihet freres at þat tyme. And y pray ȝowre holynesse mekelich & deuoutlich, þat ȝe take hede to þe forseide *con*clusiouns & to þe resons þat ich haue made þerfore, and schal make at þis time; and also þat ȝe take hede to þe resouns þat[12] freres makiþ for þe contrarie. & ȝif her resouns beþ strenger þan myn, y pray[13] þat ich be punysched; & ȝif my[14] resouns[15] be strenger þan her resouns, be þei[16] punysched for þat þei[16] haueþ sclaundred me, dispised & diffamed priuylich & openlich. But touchyng[17] þat, me is leuer suffre þan folowe þe lawe to her punyschyng. To holde alwey as y seide first: 'Demeþ nouȝt by þe face but riȝtful dome ȝe deme.'

[1] *om.* A C Ch S.
[2] fifte A C.
[3] seuenþe A C Ch S.
[4] bulle A S.
[5] eightþe A C: eiȝteþe S.
[6] place S.
[7] chose A C Ch S.
[8] nynthe A C Ch S.
[9–9] *om.* A: & þe firste C.
[10] þe C.
[11] grauntеþ me C S.
[12] þat þe C.
[13] preye ȝow C.
[14] myne S.
[15] resoun A C.
[16] hey S.
[17] techinge S.

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But for by lawe of God & of kynde, þe comyn nedes schal be sett tofore singuler nedes, ich wole bigynne atte mat*er* of priuyleges þat touchiþ al þe clergie, & alle Cristen men. Y say, as me semeþ, 3if* me axe what place is moste worþi to be chose for Fol. 6 b
parischons of eny chirche synguler liche to schryue hem ynne, 8th Conclusion: The parish church is the more worthy to be chosen for shrift, as it is more profitable and avoideth more damages. It is the place commanded by God and his law, as shewn in Deut. 12: 5, 6, and also in Deut. 12: 13, 14, also in Leviticus 4. All other places are forbidden by the law.
hit semeþ me þat þe parische chirche is a place more worþi to be chose þan oratorie oþer[1] chirche of freres; for þe parische chirche is for schrifte of þe parischons þat is schryuen, more siker, more profitable, & voydeþ mo damages; þat þe parische chirche wiþ excluding of alle oþer places is most siker place to be schryue & buried ynne. Y preue hit is a place y-hote of God & his lawe[2]; Deuteronomii xii° c°, hit is writen: 'Þese beþ heestes & domes þat 3e schal do & holde. 3e schal come to þe place þat 3oure Lord God chesiþ of alle 3owre lynages to sette þere his name & to wonye þere. In þat place 3e schal offre 3owre offryngis, and sacrificis; 3oure teþingis & þe[3] firste fruyt of 3oure hondes; 3oure avowes and 3iftes; þe first birþe[4] of ruþeren[5] & of foules[6].' Þanne hit folewiþ in a forbeding wise: 'War þat þou offre nou3t þyn offrynges in euereche[7] place þat þou seest[8] wiþ [9]ynne þee;[9] but onliche in [10]þat place, þat[10] God chesiþ in oon of 3oure lynages; þere offre þou þyn offrynges & al þat ich hote þee.' & so it is soþe þat God hoteþ þat euerech man schal do offringis, & schrifte, & al þat[11] þe lawe hotiþ of sacramentis, in a place þat God chesiþ, þat is, þe parische chirche, as þe wordes meneþ. Þerfore hit is written, Leuitici 4° c°: 'Euerech[7] man þat synneþ by vnkunnyng, schewe hymsilf to þe prest, & hit schal be for3eue hym.' And also alle oþere places beþ forbode by þe lawe. And hit semeþ certeyn þat þe place of freres is nou3t of God y-chose by þe lawe to do siche deuociouns, but onlich y-graunted by popes, & as it is seide toforhand, forbode by þe lawe. But þe place þat God hotiþ is more certeyn & more[12] siker[13] for schrifte of

[1] or A C.
[2] lawe for S.
[3] 3oure S.
[4] burþe A S.
[5] reþeren A: roþeren C S.
[6] scheps *written above* foules C.
[7] euery A C: ech S.
[8] sixte A C Ch S.
[9–9] þyn eye A C Ch S: *after* eye *is written* þat þou sixte wiþ þyn eye C.
[10–10] *om.* C.
[11] þat þat C.
[12] *om.* A C Ch S.
[13] siker þan þe place þat god forbedeþ by his lawe and is boþe

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parischons þan eny oratorie eþer[1] chirche of freres. Also, comynliche, a parischon[2] schal nouȝt haue suspecioun þat his parische chirche[3] is entredited, but he may verreylich haue suspecioun þat þe chirche of[4] freres is entredited. Þerfore[5] it semeþ þat þe parische chirche is þe[6] more siker place. And þat hit myȝt seme þat þe chirche of freres is entredited, hit is preued by þe decretal *de sepulturis* in 6° c° 'animarum periculis'. Þerein, a certeyn manere, alle religious men beþ forbode vppon peyne of entreditynge of her chirche, & chirche heye,[7] þat þei[8] schul nouȝt counseil no man to swere neþer to make avowe; noþer to pliȝt his truþe, noþer to behote in oþer manere wise to chese buriyng place at her chirche; so þat ȝif þei counseileþ þerto eny maner wise, her chirche is entredited, & her chirche heye[9]. Oþer ȝif þei counseileþ hym, þat haþ y-chose his buriels among hem, nouȝt to chaunge his wille; & comynliche it is seide þat freres counseiliþ so men; þanne a parischon may verreilich haue suspecioun þat her place is entredited. Þis may be confermed in oþer manere: a parischon knowiþ, as he is y-holde to knowe, þat his parisch chirche is a place for vsyng of sacramentis, y-chose & y-hote of God; and þe place of freres forbode by Goddes lawe, & no suche wolde chese his burielis among hem but by informacioun, & consail of freres; for hit semeþ siker ynouȝ þat no seculer man conforteþ, noþer counseiliþ so for to do. Here-of hit semeþ, þat hit may be concluded as me may in moral mater: þat for schrifte of parischons her owne parische chirche is more siker place þan eny place of freres.* Fol. 7 a

I seide, & efte y seye, þat for schrifte & buriyng of parischons, her owne parische chirche is more profitable place þan eny place of freres. First for hit is a place y-chose of God, & þer[10] by[11] more alowed of God þan eny chirche of freres, þat is nouȝt so expresslich y-chose of God, noþer of holy chirche, but y-graunted

A parishioner may have suspicion that the church of friars is interdicted.

This is shown by the decretal, which forbids.

Also a parish church is a place for using sacraments, and is chosen by God.

suffred & graunted. Þanne hit semeþ þat þe parische chirche is mor certayn and more siker A C Ch S: place S.

[1] oþer A S: or C.
[2] aparischon comynliche S.
[3] *om.* A.
[4] of þe A.
[5] þat for A.
[6] *om.* S.
[7] þey A: ȝerde C: hey S.
[8] hey S.
[9] hawe A: ȝerde C: hey S.
[10] þei A C.
[11] be A C.

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by[1] procurynge of freres. Þerfore hit semeþ þe more profitable place, & more alowed & leef[2] to God; for hit is y-chose of God. Also þe parischon, þat is lawfullich y-schryue in his parische chirche, haþ mede of double obedience. For he haþ mede, in þat he[3] is obedient to Goddes heest, & schryueþ him. [4] Also he haþ, in þat he[3] is obedient to Goddes heeste, & schryueþ[4] in[5] þe place þat God haþ y-chose þerto. He,[6] þat þe freres schryueþ, leesiþ his[7] secunde mede, as hit semeþ; for God hoteþ no parischon, noþer counsailiþ to be y-schryue, noþer y-buried atte freres. Þanne for schrifte, & buryyng of parischons, her owne parische chirche is more profitable place þan eny place of freres. Also, in þe parische chirche, ouer alle, oþere neiȝ[8] ouer al, by lawe of God, & of holy chirche, is oþer schuld be mo bedemen þan in eny chirche of freres, ȝhe[9] siche ten. Þanne, euereche parischon may trowe þat he[10] is more y-holpe by prayers of mo bedemen, þan in eny chirches of freres. Y seide, & seye efte, þat[11] schrifte & buriyng in þe parisch chirche, voydeþ mo damages & desauauntages þan schrifte oþer buriyng in eny chirche of freres. For in þe parische chirche is more profit & more surete; and ȝif[12] it were y-do in eny chirche of freres as I haue seide, þis[13] profit & surete were lost, & þat were damage & desauauntage, greuous, & huge.[14]

The man who is lawfully shriven in his parish church has a reward of double obedience, (1) he obeys God's command in being shriven, and (2) he obeys God's command in being shriven at the parish church.

In the parish church there is more profit and surety to those who are shriven.

Y seide, & efte y seye, ȝif me axeþ what persoon is most worthi to be chose for singuler[15] of parischons, a frere or þe ordynarie, [16]y say, þat[16] þe ordynarie is more worþi to be chose for schrifte þan eny frere. For he[17] is more profitable, & schrifte þat is schewide singulerliche to hym, voydeþ mo desauauntes & damages. [18]First y saye þat þe ordinarie is þe more siker persone[18]; for as y schewide in þe raþer article, he[17] is y-fonge a persoon of God, & of holy chirche, and of þe comyn lawe; & þe frere is forbode by þe lawe. Þanne þe ordynarie is þe[19]

9th Conclusion: The ordinary is more worthy to be chosen for shrift than any friar. He is the more proper, as he is chosen a parson by God and

[1] be C.
[2] luf A: loued C: luef S.
[3] a S.
[4–4] *om.* C.
[5] him in A.
[6] hem S.
[7] þis S.
[8] nyȝe A: nyh C.
[9] ȝe A C Ch S.
[10] a S.
[11] þat þat A C.
[12] *om.* C.
[13] þues S.
[14] hoyge S.
[15] singulerte C: singuler schrift S.
[16–16] *om.* C.
[17] a S.
[18–18] *om.* C.
[19] *om.* C.

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holy church, and of the common law. The parishioner has a greater trust in the ordinary.

more siker p*er*sone. Also þe ordinarie is more y-bounde to his p*ar*ischons þan is a frere. Þ*a*nne þe parischon may, [1] ver*r*eilich & more sik*er*liche [1], triste [2] þat þe ordynarie wole more bisiliche ordeyne for his sauacio*u*n þan wole eny frere, þ*a*t is a str*a*unge p*er*soone, as a bodiliche leche þ*a*t is pr*e*uy & y-knowe is more y-holde to þe seke man þan a str*a*unge leche. Also by þe [3] comyn cours, þe parischon douteþ nou3t noþ*er* schal doute of his ordinarie, weþ*er* [4] his power to assoile his sugetis be y-bounde oþ*er* no; but of freres he may haue verreiliche [5] suspecio*u*n, and trowe þat her power is y-bounde for diu*er*se cursyngis; & wiþ oute eny doute hit is more siker to be schryue to hym þ*a*t haþ fre power, þan to hym þ*a*t his power is y-bounde. Þ*a*nne þe ordinarie is þe more siker p*er*sone, & þe more c*er*teyn. & þ*a*t me may trowe þat freres beþ acursed, hit is pr*e*ued, first, by þe decretal in Cle. Decimis [6]. Þ*er*e it is seide þat 'alle men of religio*u*n þ*a*t haueþ no benefice [7], beþ a-cursed, 3if þei [8] wiþholdeþ, oþ*er* wiþdraweþ, oþ*er* fondeþ to appropre to hem wiþout a laweful cause, by [9] any maner, colour, oþ*er* sleiȝþe [10], riȝtes oþ*er* teþinges, þ*a*t beþ dewe [11] to holy chirche.' & it semeþ no dowte, by Goddes owne lawe, þ*a*t teþinges of byqueestes & of fre ȝiftes

He may have suspicion of the Friar, as his power is bound because he is cursed,

as is shown in the decretal.

Fol. 7 b is detty, & * dewe [11] to parische chirches, & to curat*o*urs þ*er*of. & so seyn [12] þe doctors Innocencius & Hostiensis. Þ*a*nne alle freres þ*a*t bynymeþ parische chirches þe teþinge [13] of þ*a*t [14] is y-ȝeue hem oþ*er* biqueþe, beþ acursed. For þei payeþ neu*er*e teþinge of siche biquystes & ȝiftes, as it is comynliche seide. Þe same is pr*e*ued also by þe chapitre 'religiosi pr*i*uilegiis' in Cle. Þ*er*e alle religious men beþ acursed [15] in dede, þ*a*t assoyleþ eny men þ*a*t beþ acursed by statutes of prouync*es* oþ*er* of synodes, þe whiche pr*e*lates of holy chirche and her penitau*n*sers schulde assoyle. & freres beþ acursed þ*a*t assoileþ freres þ*a*t hereþ [16] schriftes while her power is y-bounde. In my

Friars are cursed because they take tithings that belong to the church.

They are also cursed because they absolve men who have been condemned by the law of the country or the church.

[1–1] more sykerliche & vreryliche S.
[2] truste A C.
[3] *om.* C.
[4] where C.
[5] verrily haue C.
[6] Lat. Clementinis de decimis.
[7] benefices S.
[8] hey S.
[9] be C.
[10] sleiȝte A C: scleiȝþe S.
[11] þewe S.
[12] seiþ A C: seggeþ S.
[13] tueþinges A.
[14] *om.* C S.
[15] acorsed of S.
[16] huyreþ S.

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diocesy Armacan, y trowe y haue two þousand sugettes, mansleers, comyn þeeues, incendiaries þat settiþ houses afyre[1], & oþer euel doeres, þat beþ acursed by sentence euereche 3ere, of þe whiche vnneþe comeþ to me & to my penitaunsers, fourty a 3ere; & siche fongeþ[2] þe sacramentis as oþer men doþ; & me[3] trowiþ, þat þei[4] beþ assoyled, & by noon oþer þan by freres, wiþ-oute drede, for noon oþer men assoileþ hem. & me[3] trowiþ þat þei[4] beþ assoiled. & so parischons may verreiliche trowe þat þese confessours beþ wrapped & snarled in þe same curs, so þat her power is y-bounde. And so it is þe lasse siker to be schryue to hem, while þei[5] mowe nou3t assoile wiþout dedly synne. & 3if þei[5] þat[6] beþ schryue trowiþ hit, þei[5] beþ assenting to þe synnes of freres, 3if þei[7] fangeþ absolucioun. þe apostle seiþ ad Romanos 2°: 'þei[5] þat doþ siche dedes, [8]beþ worþi þe deþ, & nou3t onliche þei þat doþ siche dedes, but also þei þat assentiþ to hem þat doþ siche dedes[8]'. Also 2° Paralipomenon c° 19° hit is writen þat John[9] þe prophete seide to Josophath kyng of Juda: 'þou helpest[10] þe wicked man & dost frendschip to hem þat hateþ Oure Lord; þerfore þou schalt disserue Goddes wreþþe.' And so hit sweþ,[11] þat þe ordynarie is more siker þan eny frere.

Out of 2,000 men who were condemned in Armacan for various crimes, only 40 were shriven by the parish priest. The others had been shriven by friars.

Friars may not absolve without deadly sin, and those who are absolved also sin. See Romans 2.

Also IIChronicles 19:2.

Then the ordinary is more siker than the friar.

Also þe same is preued 'per cupientes de penis' in Cle. þere is denounsed þre maner sentence[12] of cursinge. By þe firste sentence,[12] alle men of religioun beþ acursed, þat spekiþ in sermouns oþer elles-where a3enus paiyng of teþinges, þat is dewe[13] to holy chirche. [12]& so doþ, as one seiþ, comynliche,[12] confessours of freres, & telleþ openlich, þat 3euers of almes in teþinge, of wynnyng of chaffare, beþ nou3t y-holde to paye teþingis of brede,[14] of wyn, of ale, & of oþer[15] smal þingis. Y tolde þe contrarie, & seide, þat þei[16] beþ y-holde to make mencioun among her wynnyng of smale 3iftes, as wel as of þe[15] grete.

Three curses by the decretal: (1) Those who in their preaching speak against paying of tithes, as do friars.

[1] on fyre A C: afuyre S.
[2] *om.* C.
[3] þei A C.
[4] a S.
[5] hey S.
[6] *om.* S.
[7] he A C: a S.
[8–8] *om.* C.
[9] ion S.
[10] kepest S.
[11] seweþ A C Ch S.
[12–12] *om.* C.
[13] þewe S.
[14] of almesse of bread S.
[15] *om.* S.
[16] a S.

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For[1] elles, marchauntes myȝt, by siche smale ȝiftes, ȝeue & dele al þe wynnyng of þe ȝere, & so, of þe grettest wynnyng, no teþing paie, & dele to pore men al by smale ȝiftes, & so were holy chirche y-scorned. Þanne siche freres beþ y-wralled[2], & y-snarled in sentence of þe grete curs. Also by þe same decretal, alle freres beþ suspended of þe offyce of prechyng, & so acursed[3] wiþ-ynne a certeyn terme, [4]ȝif þei[4] wole nouȝt enforme & charge hem þat beþ yschryue to hem, & make hem charge her conscience & paye wel her teþingis. As it is verreilich seide, alle confessours of freres, oþer neiȝ alle, beþ wrapped in þis sentence of cursyng; for as it is comynliche seide, & hit may be preued by hem þat beþ y-schryue to freres, þat al þat þei[5] spekiþ in þat mater is but wordes wiþoute eny effect, & þat is scornyng and nouȝt* makyng of conscience. For ȝif þei[5] made conscience to þe menyng of þe lawe, þei[5] schulde enforme hem þat beþ y-schryue to hem, wher of þei[6] schulde teþe,[7] & of þe maner & tyme. And for þei[8] doþ nouȝt, y can nouȝt se but þei[8] beþ acursed. Also by þe same chapitre alle men of religioun beþ acursed þat counseiliþ oþere counfortiþ oþere men to bihote, by a vowe oþer by oþ, oþer by truþe-pliȝtyng for to chese sepulture at her chirches, oþer comforteþ hem þat haueþ y-chose, nouȝt for to chaunge her choys & her wille; but þe comyn opinioun of lewed men & of clerkes telliþ þat freres doþ so, and herto helpiþ þe probeble euydens þat was made for þe confirmacioun of þe secounde resone of[9] þe firste conclusioun of þe raþer article.

Also þat þe ordynarie is more siker to þe[10] paryschon, hit is preued oþer wise in þis maner: for þe parischon may skilfulliche deme þat his ordynarie is a Juge lasse suspect & more skilful for to enioye[11] hym skilful penaunce & profitable for his synnes. For he schal nouȝt suppose noþer haue suspecioun, þat his ordynarie hereþ[12] his schrifte for couetise of getyng & of wynnyng of bodilich help & socour; for þe ordynaries liflode longeþ

2nd curse: All friars are suspended of the office of preaching, if they do not charge those whom they shrive to pay their tithes.

They do not do this, and thus they are accursed.

3rd curse, on religious men, who counsel others to choose sepulture at their churches. It is the common opinion that friars thus do.

It may also be proved that the ordinary is more proper person for the parishioner because he will not have suspicion that

[1] or S.
[2] I-warled A C.
[3] acursed þat A C S.
[4–4] *om.* A C S.
[5] hey S.
[6] he A C: a S.
[7] tiþe A C: tueþe S.
[8] a S.
[9] *om.* A.
[10] *om.* C.
[11] eniune A: enioyne C S.
[12] hireþ C: hoyreþ S.

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to his offys by lawe of God[1] and of holy chirche. Of freres þei[2] may suppose & wene, þat þei[3] doþ hit for to haue socour & help of[4] her liflode; for in here appele þat þei[3] made a3enes me in Engelond hit is conteyned þat by[5] her fundacioun, þei beþ[6] y-bounde to beggerie & to þe hei3est pouerte, nou3t wiþstondyng þat þei telliþ þat þei haueþ power*e* to here[7] þe schriftes of alle men þat wole be schryue to hem. Þ*er*fore þe parischen may skilfulliche suppose & haue suspecioun þat, bycause of[8] getyng so*m*me releue of her beggerie, þei beþ so busy to here schriftes. Þanne may þe parischon skilfulliche argue in his herte, why wolde þis begg*er* sitte & here m[illegible]schrifte & leue his beggyng & getyng of his liflode, but he hope to haue of me siche man*er* help, and nede[9] driueþ to sy*n*ne, by þe which sy*n*ne þe nede my3t be releued, as *Prover*biorum 30° c°, Salomon seiþ & pr*a*yeþ: '3eue me noþ*er* beggerie noþ*er* riches, but 3eue me onliche what[10] is nedeful to my liflode lest y be excited to denye & saye who is our*e* Lorde, & *con*pelled by nede for to stele & forswere þe name of my God.' Þanne hit folewiþ, þat for all man*er* synnes, he wole ioyne[11] me almes dede for to releue his owne beggerie, & so y schal nou3t be cleneliche byquyt of my[12] sy*n*nes; þ*er*fore[13] wha*n*ne hise disciples axide of oure Lord: 'Why my3t we nou3t cast hym out?' & spake of a fende, oure Lord answerde & seide: 'Þese[14] man*er* fendes beþ[15] nou3t cast out but wiþ bedes & fastyng,' Math 16° c°. Of þis worde hit is y-take, þat as for eu*er*eche diu*er*se sekenesse of body dyu*er*se medicyns helpiþ; so for eu*er*eche gostlich seknese most be ordeyned his pr*o*pre medicyn. And þis begg*er* þat is bisy about his beggerye wole nou3t w*ith*-out suspecioun ordeyne me siche medicyns for my sy*n*nes. Þis resou*n* is confermed, for hit semeþ in dede in al þe worlde wide, aft*er* þat freres hadde gete pr*i*uelege for to here schriftes, þei[16] haueþ y-bilde[17] fayre

he heareth his shrift for the desire of getting money and goods, as do friars.

In their foundation they profess beggary, but they create suspicion by being so busy to hear shrifts.

The parishioner argues that the friar leaves his begging and shrives him in order to get money, and thus sin—as Solomon says: Proverbs 30: 8, 9.

So it follows that for all manner of sins, he will require alms to relieve his beggary, and I shall not be truly forgiven of my sins, as per Matt. 17: 19, 20, 21.

Friars have through hearing of shrifts built huge buildings.

[1] *Chetham MS. begins with* God and of holy chirche.
[2] he C A S Ch.
[3] hey S: hy C.
[4] to A C Ch S.
[5] *om.* S.
[6] hey were S.
[7] huyre A Ch: hoyre S.
[8] of here S.
[9] nedeþ C: neode Ch.
[10] þat C.
[11] ioyerne C: June Ch.
[12] myn C.
[13] wherfore C.
[14] in þis C Ch S.
[15] buþ Ch.
[16] hey S: hy Ch.
[17] I-bulde A C Ch S.

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mynstres[1] & rial palyces þou3[2] hit were for kynges, & þe cause þere of semeþ þe power of heryng of schriftes. For er[3] þei hadde þat[4] power þei[5] my3t noon siche bildyngis make. Also hit is neuer herde þat freres enioyneþ hem þat þei[5] schryueþ to 3eue syche almes[6] to amendment of parische chirches,* noþer of hey3[7] weyes, noþer of broken brigges; noþer þe menoures chargeþ nou3t noþer ordeyneþ to 3eue siche almes to[8] þe prechours, but al to hem-silf oþer to her owne ordre. Þerfore me may skilfulliche deme þat his owne getyng is cause why siche a begger is so bisy aboute a straunge man, & forgendriþ his beggynge tyme & takeþ al his hede to þe straunge man. Also ich made & here now y make þe fifþe resoun. Þe conclusioun of þis resoun ich wolde nou3t afferme; but y seide openliche & 3itt[9] y seye þat y couþe nou3t assoyle þe resoun. Þe conclusioun of þat resoun is þis: euereche parischone þat is y-schryue to freres & leueþ þe ordenaries by þe power þat þei[5] haueþ, after sich a schrifte, lyueþ in dedliche synne & of no dedliche synne is assoyled. To preue þis conclusioun in oþer maner ich fonded for to preue oon principal.

Fol. 8 b

They never give the alms they receive to repair parish churches, nor high-ways, nor bridges, but give it all to their own order, hence they give up begging.

Therefore he who leaves the ordinary and is shriven by a friar, lives in a deadly sin, from which he cannot be absolved.

But for þe constitucioun *Johannina vas electionis*, y graunted nou3t þat conclusioun. For þerof maister John de Polliaco hys sawes beþ þre articles y-dampned. Þe firste is, þat þei þat beþ y-schryue to freres þat haueþ general leue to here schriftes, beþ y-holde to schryue hem efte of þe same synnes to her owne preste; þe secunde article is þis, þat stondyng þe statute þat was made in þe general consail, *Omnis vtriusque Sexus*, þe pope may nou3t make þat parischons beþ nou3t y-holde to schryue hem of alle her synnes ones a 3ere to her owne preste, þat þei[10] clepiþ þe curatour of þe parische, [11]noþer God my3t do þat, as he seide, for hit closiþ contradiccioun & wiþsaiyng wiþ-ynne hit silf; þe þridde article is þis, þe pope may nou3t 3eue leue to here schriftes noþer God him-silf. But he þat is y-schryue to hym þat haþ general leue to here schriftes is 3itt y-holde to schryue hym of þe synnes to his owne prest, þat is þe curatour of þe parische,[11] as it is seide toforehond. Þe

The three saws of John de Polliaco. The first article.

The second article.

The third article.

[1] monasters A Ch S: monasteries C.
[2] þei A C S: þey3 Ch.
[3] or A C.
[4] suche C.
[5] hey S: hy Ch.
[6] almes dede Ch.
[7] hi3e A C S: hy3 Ch.
[8] *om.* C.
[9] 3ut S Ch.
[10] he A C: a S Ch.
[11–11] *om.* C.

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*princip*le is þis: hit may stonde to-gidres wiþout eny wiþsaiyng þat what parischon hit be þat is yschryue to freres,[1] þe same parischon is y-holde by heste of holy chirche to schryue hym of alle his synnes[1] ones a ȝere[2] to his owne *prest*, þat is his curato*ur* & his ordinarie. First y *preued* hit in þis mane*r*: for hit semeþ nomore wiþseyyng þat he, þat is y-schryue to freres[3] ones a ȝer*e*, is y-holde[3] to be schryue to his owne preste of alle his[4] dedliche synnes in þat, þat schrifte may be rehersed in þe same, þa*n*ne hit doþ for to offre ones, twies, oþ*er* þryes i*n*[5] *pa*rische chirche, þouȝ[6] he offre elles where; for eiþ*er* dede is medeful & may be ofte y-do. Þese laste tweyne wiþsiggeþ nouȝt eiþ*er* oþ*er*. [7] Þanne noþ*er* þe firste tweyne wiþsiggeþ eiþ*er* oþ*er*[7]. No man douteþ her-of þat eue*re*ch dede þat may ofte be do, of[8] dyu*er*se p*er*sons oþ*er* of þe same for dyu*er*se places & tyme, may stonde wiþ-out wiþsigginge, as þus hit may wel stonde þat a man hereþ oon masse oþ*er* meny atte freres, & also atte parische, namelich ones in a moneþe, & nameliche while eiþ*er* dede is medeful and plesyng to God, and so is schrifte wiþ-out[9] eny drede. Alle doctors acordeþ þat þe dede of schrifte may be do medefullich ofte touchyng þe schewyng of synne & fongyng of penau*n*ce. And we alle ofte doþ so & trowiþ to plese God ofte in þat doyng, and hit is as[10] *cer*teyn þat siche medeful dedes may falle vnd*er* comau*n*dem*en*t and heeste,[11] as y schewide toforhond in þe bygynnyng of þe raþ*er* article. Þa*n*ne it may be vnd*er* comau*n*dm*en*t & heste[11], þat he þat is y-schryue[11] to a frere be efte y-schryue[11] of þe same synnes to his owne prest and *his ordinarie. Also þe ferþe Pope Martyn gra*unted frere menou*r*s leue for[12] to here schriftes; & in þe ende of þat pr*i*uylege he seiþ i*n* þis mane*r*: 'We wolleþ þat þei þat beþ y-schryue to freres be y-holde to be schryue of þe same synnes to her[13] parische *pre*ste, namelich, ones a ȝer*e* as it is ordeyned by þe gene*r*al coun*s*eil; &[14] þat þe same freres as

The principle is this: he that is shriven by a friar, is held by holy church to shrive himself once a year to his priest.

It is a good thing for a man to rehearse his sins often, as it is good to do often other helpful deeds,

just as the heeding of mass often is a good thing.

The doing of shrift may take place often.

Fol. 9 a

Pope Martin granted friars leave to hear shrifts, but

[1–1] *om.* C.
[2] a ȝere is I holde to be schreue C.
[3–3] ys yholde ones a ȝer Ch.
[4] *om.* C.
[5] in a A C: in his S.
[6] þeigh A C: þey S: þeyȝ Ch.
[7–7] *om.* C.
[8] by C.
[9] wiþ A.
[10] a A C.
[11–11] *om.* C.
[12] *om.* S.
[13] his owne preost A C.
[14] and *written twice in* C.

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those who are thus shriven must go to their parish priest once a year.

God ȝeueþ hem *grace* schal bisiliche *counseile* and charge hem þat þei schryueþ, to schryue hem efte of þe same synnes to her owne *prest*'. & so þis pope comau*n*deþ & hoteþ[1] openliche þat nouȝtwiþstonding þe schrifte þat is schewed to freres, he þat is y-schryue to freres is y-holde efte to schryue hi*m* of þe same synnes to his parische prest by þe statute of þe gen*er*al *con*sayl.

But friars read the opposite meaning in the decree and so do damage to themselves and to other men.

But hit semeþ þat þis constitucio*un* *Johannina vas electionis* is cont*r*arie[2] hereto, by þe meny*n*g[2] þat[3] freres takiþ of þat constitucio*un*, and so þei enfo*r*meþ þe peple openlich, & so doþ damage to hem-silf and to o*þ*ere men also.

This constitution should be at once declared.

ȝif pope Martyns maundment be ferme & stable, as hit semeþ by þe forseide resons, þ*er*fore holy fader þat no sich damage be among Cr*i*sten men, ordeyneþ for Cr*i*stes loue þat þis constitucio*un* be swiftlich declared. Me semeþ þat hit myȝt be þus vnd*er*stonden, and so ich vnd*er*stonde hit þat no man þat is y-schryue to freres [4]for defaute of power to assoile in freres[4], is y-holde to schryue hym of þe same synnes to his owne *prest*; & hit semeþ þat mayst*er* Joon de Polliaco menede þe contrarie herof. Also hit semeþ grete wonder w*i*th what face freres dar[5] telle þat hit may nouȝt stonde, þat a man is y-schryue to freres & is y-holde to schryue hym of þe same synnes to his owne *prest*, while þei haueþ in here owne rule, as it is comynliche seide, þat eu*er*ech man þat takiþ her ordre in his entringe o*þ*er in his p*r*ofessiou*n*, he schal schryue hym to oon of hem of alle his synnes, nouȝtwiþstondinge þat he is y-schryue to-forhond of þe same synnes. Þ*a*nne hit is wond*er* why þei denyeþ þat we mowe so do[6], while þei hem-silf doþ so.

Pope Benedict XI commands friars that they shall charge them whom they shrive, to be shriven again to their priest.

Also þe XI pope Benet in con*stitucione* *sua re notoria* con*stitut*us *bononsus*[7] *super cathedram*. Þat constitucio*un* bigy*n*neþ, ȝif ich haue þ*er*of fulle mynde i*n* þis man*er*, *ad perpetuam*. Þ*er*e he comau*n*deþ freres, þat þei schulleþ charge hem þat þei schryueþ, to schryue hem efte of þe same synnes to her[8] *prest* & her ordinarie. Þanne hit semeþ þat he meneþ þat, nouȝtwiþstondinge þe oon schrifte, ȝett þe o*þ*er

[1] hoteþ & comaundeþ S.
[2–2] by þe menyng hereto A C.
[3] þat þe C.
[4–4] *om.* C.
[5] durre A C: þere S: þurre Ch.
[6] doo soo C.
[7] Lat. Bonifacii.
[8] her owne A C Ch S.

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schrifte is dewe[1]. For ȝif þei mowe stonde togidres, þe[2] oon may be fonge & þe[2] oþer frelich abide as me semeþ, by[3] resouns þat beþ made. Also Seynt Austyn *de vera & falsa penitencia*, & Seint Thomas Bonauenture, & holy doctors, & expositors affermeþ ofte þat it is spedeful to be ofte y-schryue of þe same synnes. Y can nouȝt se þanne why hit myȝt nouȝt be y-hote by þe lawe, forto make þe peple haue þe more mede, as a prelate myȝt holilich hote þat euerech Cristen man schulde here twey masses euereche Sonday. Now þis principle is þus skilfullich y-preued, hit semeþ þat me myȝt conclude a ful hardere[4] conclusioun, þat is þis: euerech parischon þat leueþ[5] al þe[5] ȝere his ordynarie, þat is his parisch curatour, & schryueþ hym to a frere, trespaseþ aȝenes þe heeste of holy chirche, in þat[6] decretal *Omnis vtriusque Sexus*. & þanne it folewiþ þat þei comeþ from þe frere wiþ dedlich synne, & God forȝeueþ nouȝt oon[7] dedlich synne * but he[8] forȝeue alle dedlich synnes. þanne folewiþ a more meschef þat he þat is so y-schryue to a frere, comeþ from þe frere wiþ alle þe[9] dedlich synnes þat he had wiþ hym whanne he wente to þe frere; & what doyng is[10] wors þan þis myȝt be suffred in holy chirche. Trulich, holy fader, y couþe neuer, noþer ȝit can assoile þis resoune.

It is affirmed by others that it is speedful to be shriven often of the same sins.

From this I will state a harder conclusion, that he who leaves all the year his priest trespasses

Fol. 9 b

against the command of holy church, which is a deadly sin. Then it follows that he who comes from a friar, comes with all the deadly sins that he had with him when he went to the friar.

þerfore at Londoun y prayed þese freres openlich, þat þei wolde wiþ worde oþer[11] writynge enforme me how y myȝt assoile þis resoun, but þat myȝt ich nouȝt gete of hem ȝit to þis day. þanne me semeþ, by þese forseide resons, þat þe ordynarie is more siker for his parischon to schryue hym syngulerliche to oon persoon þan is eny frere; and here vppon, holy fader, 'demeþ nouȝt by þe face but riȝtful dome ȝe deme'. Y seide and efte y seye, þat þe ordinarie is more[12] profitable for þe schrift of his parischon þan is eny frere[12]. For þe ordinarie is ordeyned by þe[13] lawe of God & holy chirche & by heste for to

The ordinary is the more profitable for the shrift of a parishioner than is a friar,

[1] þewe S Ch.
[2] þat A C.
[3] by þe A C Ch S.
[4] hard C Ch S.
[5–5] ech S.
[6] þe A C.
[7] in S: o Ch.
[8] *om.* S: a Ch.
[9] *om.* C.
[10] *om.* S.
[11] oþer wiþ C Ch.
[12–12] siker for his parischon þan is eny frere A: siker for his parischoun to schryue hym singulerliche þan any frere C.
[13] *om.* Ch S.

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because the parish priest is appointed by God and the Church and the friar has only the grant and leave of the pope.

do þat dede; þe frere haþ no leue þerto but by graunt & leue of þe pope, & hit is no doute as hit semeþ þat no man haþ mede to do þat þinge þat he may nouȝt do but onlich by leue, & euerech þat holdeþ þe heeste of God & of holy Chirche haþ mede. Þanne it sueþ[1] by þe comyn cours, þat euereche parischon may more sikerliche schryue hym to his owne curatour þan to ony frere; but y graunt þat þe contrarie myȝt happe, yn caas & þat but ful selde, as ȝif þe ordinarie were suspect to his parischon for somme certeyn cause. Also as hit is seide in þe raþer article: he þat schryueþ hym to his ordinarie haþ mede of double obedience, for he[2] is obedient in þat he[2] schryueþ hym, & also in[3] þat he[2] schryueþ hym to his ordynarie, þat is his curatour; and he[2] leseþ oon of þese medes whanne he[2] schryueþ hym to a frere, for hit is nouȝt[4] y-hote noþer y-counceiled þat he[2] schulde schryue hym to a frere; þanne hit is more profitabil to schryue hym to his curatour. Also þe ordinarie is more y-bounde to his parischon þan a frere; & as me schal suppose by þe comyn cours, he[2] schal for loue be þe more bisye to ordeyne hym profitable medicyn for his soule þan wolde eny frere, þat is a straunge persone;[5] þanne hereby hit semeþ þat þe schrifte is more profitable. Also by þe laste conclusioun þe ordinarie is þe more siker persone; þanne he is þe more profitable persone.[5] Also Innocencius c° & *si animarum*[6], assigneþ oon cause for þis conclusioun, þat hit is better be[7] schryue to þe curatour þanne to a straunge man, & concludeþ þat hit is more profitable be[8] y-schryue to þe curatour þan to a straunger[9]; & þis cause holdeþ manliche[10] in tyme of sekenesse by[11] nyȝt, whan þe seke man may nouȝt come to þe frere noþer þe frere to þe seke man by[11] nyȝt. For þanne, nouȝtwiþstondinge þe schrifte þat is made toforhond, þe parischon most schryue hym to his ordinarie; þanne hit were wel spedeful þat þe ordynarie knew his raþer lif; for þanne he myȝt enioyne[12] hym

The ordinary is more bound to his parishioner than is a friar, who is a stranger.

This is true especially in the time of sickness, for the ordinary knows his

[1] seweþ A C S: syweþ Ch.
[2] a Ch S.
[3] *om.* A C.
[4] noþer S.
[5–5] *om.* C.
[6] Lat. Item Innocentius in cap. illo et si animarum.
[7] to be S.
[8] to be C.
[9] straunge man A C S.
[10] nameliche S.
[11] be C.
[12] eniune Ch.

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þe more conuenable penaunce. For hit is knowen[1] þe ofter a man haþ forȝeuenesse of his synne, & þe gretter þe synnes beþ þat he haþ forȝeuenesse of[2], þe gretter is þe synne þat he doþ afterward. Þanne how may þe ordinarie þat is curatour sette his parischon couenable penaunce, ȝif he knowiþ nouȝt his olde synnes, oþer namlich so couenable as he schulde ȝif he knewe his olde lif. [3] Y se nouȝt how he schuld do so couenablich * as he schuld ȝif he knewe his olde lif[3]. Þanne for siche poyntes hit were more profit be y-schryue to þe curatour þan to eny frere. Also Innocencius telliþ anoþer cause, for a man is more schamfast to schryue hym to his ordinarie þan to eny frere, for a man is more schamfast to schewe his synnes to hym þat he seeþ[4] al day þan to hym þat he seeþ[4] but ones a ȝere. Also hit is spedeful to a wedded man þat oon man here his schrifte & his wyfes also; so her schrifte fader as a singuler leche of twey lymes[5] of oon body may more profitablich ordeyne salue to hem þat beeþ gostlich seke. As in bodilich sekenes oon leche may better heele twey lymes, þan oon leche hele oon lyme & anoþer leche anoþer lyme of þe same body; for þe husbond & þe wyf beeþ tweyne in oon flesche.[6] Mathei 19° c°. Here-by hit semeþ clere y-nowȝ þat þe ordinarie is more profitable for þe schrifte of his parischons þan is eny frere. Here-vppon holy fader, 'demeþ nouȝt by þe face but riȝtful dome ȝe deme'.

early life, and so can give him a better penance.

Fol. 10 a

A man is more ashamed to shrive him to his ordinary than to any friar. It is also better if one man shrive a man and his wife, as in sickness, it is better for one doctor to heal two limbs, than it is for one doctor to heal one limb and another doctor another limb.

Þe þridde þat y seide & seye is, þat schrifte y-schewide to þe ordinarie syngulerliche as y seide, voideþ mo damages þan doþ schrifte þat is schewide to eny frere. Þere y began to sprede þe mater & to schewe þat þe priuyleges, þat semeþ y-graunted to freres in þe chapitre *dudum*, beþ causes[7] of many grete damages; þanne þe kepyng of þe comyn lawe in þe mater of priuyleges schulde voide many damages. Þanne y seye þat nouȝt onliche þe mysuse of þese[8] priuyleges, but also þe holding of þese[8] priuyleges by freres, doþ many damages to hem þat beþ y-schryue, & also to þe clergie, to[9] Cristen peple, & to þe freres. Y say þat, for freres mysuseþ þese[8] priuyleges, hit doþ

Matt. 19: .

There are less damages when one is shriven to an ordinary than to a friar.

Damages to those who are shriven, to the clergy, to Christian people, and to the friars.

[1] y-knowe þat S.
[2] *om.* A C Ch.
[3-3] *om.* A C.
[4] sykþ Ch.
[5] lemes C.
[6] vleysch Ch.
[7] cause A C Ch S.
[8] þues S.
[9] of C.

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many damages to hem þat beþ y-schryue; þerfore he schulde be y-holde vnsuffrable. Also by[1] þe ferþe[2] Innocentius wordes, oþere damages comeþ of þese priuyleges, & seiþ we takiþ hede þat of þe mystakinge of þese priuyleges comeþ nouȝt onlich dispisingis & slakinge of deuocioun in þe peple aȝenes her owne prestes, but also schamfastnesse is bynome, þat is þe grettest partye of penaunce, while a man schewiþ nouȝt his synnes[3] to his synnes[3], to his owne preste þat is[4] present wiþ hym al wey,[5] but to[6] a straunge man, oþer a lond leper to whom hit is harde for to come, oþer impossible. Lo! twey damages, oþer þre, þat men haueþ, dispisynge of her owne prest, slakinge of deuocioun, & bynymyng of schamfastnesse, þat is þe grettest party of penaunce, as he seiþ. Þese damages comeþ of schrifte y-schewide to þe freres. And anon hit folewiþ in þis maner: hit is harmful damage of wiþ-holdyng of offryng & perylous of wiþdrawyng of teþingis[7] þat passeþ nouȝt as cerymonyes of Jewes, as lyers telliþ[8]; but teþingis beþ reserued and dewe[9] to hym[10] of whom we fongeþ al þat we haueþ; & so teþingis beþ dewe[11] to him in token of his lordschip & schal be payed to parysche chirches; þis is y-write þer. He reherseþ twey oþer damages: wiþholdinge of offryngis þat men þat beþ y-schryue vseþ for to paye hem þat heriþ her schrifte; and freres appropreþ siche offryngis to her owne vse; & by[12] þe[13] lawe siche offryngis beþ dewe[11] to parische chirches; & hit is damage to freres & worþi to be dampned wiþholdinge of teþingis þat parischons telliþ of freres & is double damage to curatours; for teþingis beþ ordeyned * to hem for her liflode, & by cause of þese priuyleges, þei beþ wiþdrawe by freres. Numeri 18° c° hit is writen: 'What is halewide of þe children of Israel ich haue betake hit to þe & to þi sones for þe office of prest, lawful wiþouten ende.' Also þere hit is writen: 'Al offring and sacrifice & al þat is y-ȝolde to[14] me for trespace & for synne & [15] þat longeþ to þe holy place, þou schalt haue hit & þi sones.'

The three damages.

It is harmful damage to withhold offerings and to withdraw tithings.

Tithings to be paid to parish churches.

Friars take over offerings for their own use. These offerings are due to holy church.

Fol. 10 b

Tithings are ordained to priests for their livelihood. Numbers 18:8, 9.

[1] *om.* C.
[2] veurþe Ch.
[3–3] *om.* A C Ch S.
[4] is alwey S.
[5] *om.* S.
[6] *om.* C.
[7] tweþinges S.
[8] tellen C.
[9] þuwe Ch: þewe S.
[10] hym in tokene of his lordschippe C.
[11] þewe Ch S.
[12] be C.
[13] *om.* C.
[14] *om.* C.
[15] *om.* S.

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Also by vse of þese *pri*uyleges, curato*ur*s haueþ anoþ*er* vnkynde damage, þat þei knowiþ nou3t þe face of her owne bestes and þei haueþ y-fonge of her bischop cure of þe same bestes, & þ*at* were grete damage[1] in oon þ*at* hadde bodilich cure of bestes. Also hit is grete damage to curato*ur*s to be dispised of her parischons, and as Innoc*encius* seiþ toforhond: such dispisyng is in þe peple for parischons beþ schryue to freres. Curato*ur*s haueþ anoþ*er* grete damage by cause of mysvse of *pri*uyleges, þ*at* freres haueþ touchyng þe þre quarters of alle *pro*fites, þ*at* falliþ to[2] hem oþ*er* wise of biquyst oþ*er* of 3ifte, distinctliche, oþ*er* indistinctliche, & al man*er* mysvse þ*at* þei vseþ of þ*at*, is conteyned in þe chapitr*e dudum*; and touchyng þe ferþe part þ*at* is I-gr*a*unted to curato*ur*s & y-taxed þ*er*e, þe whiche ferþe part of many biquystes, offryngis, & 3iftes, freres payeþ nou3t to curato*ur*s, but freres appropreþ hit to hem-silf wiþ many cautels and wyles as curato*ur*s telliþ; so þ*at* bitwene hem & freres as it were in eu*er*eche place among Cr*is*ten men is ple & strif wiþoute ende. So þ*at* in many placis charite is fer, & aft*er* wordes comeþ strokes.

Another damage to curates is that they do not know the face of their own beasts.

Another damage to curates is the misuse that friars make of the three-quarters of all the profits that falleth to them either of bequest or of gifts.

Also curato*ur*s haueþ damage of mysuse of anoþ*er* *pri*uylege þ*at* freres haueþ, for freres haueþ twey conseruato*ur*s & wolleþ nou3t plede wiþ curato*ur*s noþ*er* wiþ oþ*er* þ*at* haueþ catel tofore þe next conseruato*ur*s,[3] & makeþ hem so somned in-to fer cuntreys. So þ*at* for drede of trauail & cost, he appeleþ from þe sentence of þe cause, and in my[4] *pro*uynce haueþ ful ofte, as[5] so*m*me telliþ þ*at* beþ my3ty in þis court, and þ*er*of is comyn fame. Curato*ur*s haueþ þese damages & many oþ*er*e by cause of mys-vsynge of *pri*uyleges þ*at* beþ gr*a*unted to freres[6].

Another damage, Friars have two conservators, and summon men before the more distant.

Y *pre*ue hit, for by occasiou*n* of *pri*uyleges þ*at* beþ gr*a*unted to freres for to here schriftes, children in general studyes & in her fader hous beþ homliche & *pri*uy wiþ freres; for in þe fad*er* hous freres beþ *pri*uy by cause of heryng of[7] schriftes, & children beþ y-schryue to freres, & freres begileþ hem wiþ smale 3iftes & gileful, & makeþ hem come in-to her ordre, for

Friars become privy in homes because they hear shrifts, and so they beguile the children with small

[1] damage to curatoures C.
[2] to freres bycause of sepulture & of alle profi3tes þ*at* falleþ to S.
[3] conseruatour but to ferreste conseruatour S.
[4] myn C.
[5] and C.
[6] freres for to here schriftes C.
[7] *om.* C.

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gifts, and thus induce them to enter the order, and thus steal them.

freres mowe nou3t so begyle olde men. And as þe comyn fame telliþ, aft*er* þat children ben[1] bigiled in-to her ordre, þe children haueþ no fredome for to wende out, but beþ holden wiþ hem a3en*us* her owne wille forto þei be *pro*fessed in þe ordre[2]. & 3ett more me seiþ, þat in þe mene tyme, þe children beþ nou3t suffred to speke wiþ fader noþ*er* wiþ modir, but [3] vnder keping [3] and drede of freres. In euydence herof, þis day as ich come out of myn Inne, come [4] to me a good man of Englond þat is comen to þis court for socour and remedye; and he tolde me þat anoon aft*er* Est*er*,[5] þat last was at Oxenford, freres by-name hym his sone þat was nou3t xiii 3ere olde, & he came þider to speke wiþ his sone & [6] moste nou3t speke wiþ his sone, but vnd*er* warde & kepi*ng* of freres. & Holy Writt biddiþ, Fol. 11a þat [7] who þat [8] steliþ a man & silliþ hi*m*, & is I-*pre*ued vppon hym þat trespas, he [9] schal dye. Exodi 21° c°. Why haueþ þei not þis peyne oþ*er* anoþ*er* lawful peyne? Hit semeþ me nou3t ri3tful þat þei beþ vnpunysched. By þe lawe a man schal be punysched for þe stelyng of an oxe oþ*er* of [10] a scheep. For more greuous þefþe [11] & greuy*ng* of his emc*ris*ten by a more greuo*us* trespas, eu*er*ech þat so doþ schulde be more greuouslich punysched; & siche þefþe [11] and trespace is siche stelyng of children wiþi*n*ne þe [12] 3eres of discrecio*un* while þei beþ vnd*er* fader & moder keping; & freres mowe nou3t soþliche saye þat childr*en* beþ brou3t þ*er*e to serue God wiþ þe more deuocio*un*, & þ*er*fore it is lawful to bygile hem wiþ fraude & lesyngis & wiþ fals byheestes. Þis may nou3t stonde, for hit is *contra*rie to þe [13] apostles decre: 'Do we nou3t, as we beþ dispised & yscorned & as so*m* men telleþ þat we seyn, do we euel þat good may bifalle; her dampnacio*un* is ri3tful,' ad Ro*man*os 3° c°. & wolde God þat þei sy3e inwardlych Seynt Austyns bokes of lesyng & a3enes lesynge, in þe whiche bokes he declareþ clerelich, þat me schuld make no lesyng noþ*er* for to avoyde & ascape [14] harme, what harm hit eu*er*e were, noþ*er* for to wyn*ne*

Children not allowed to speak with their father or mother. A case to show this.

Holy Writ forbids stealing a man. Exodus 21:16.

Why are they not punished, for this stealing of children, when men are punished for a lesser offence for stealing an ox or a sheep?

Against lying. Romans 3:8.

Saint Austin writes against lying.

[1] beeþ A C S: buþ Ch.
[2] here owne ordere S.
[3–3] vnkeynge C.
[4] þere come A C.
[5] Esterne A C.
[6] & he C.
[7] *om.* S.
[8] so A C.
[9] a Ch.
[10] *om.* S.
[11] þefte A C S: þuyfthe Ch.
[12] *om.* S.
[13] *om.* Ch.
[14] skape A C Ch S.

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gode oþer[1] profiȝt, noþer for to saue a manes soule noþer his life; and so hit semeþ of[2] alle oþer synnes. & [3] among oþer, Seynt Austyn schewiþ oon feire reson & seiþ in þis maner: 'ȝif me myȝt somtyme lawfulliche lye & make a lesyng for somme manere cause, þanne al þe loore of hooly[4] chirche were loost; for þanne he þat prechiþ openliche þe feiþ of holy chirche, myȝt lawfulliche lye, while he prechiþ þe feiþ for sich a maner cause, while he techiþ þe feiþ and prechiþ þe peple.' Þanne men þat hereþ hym preche myȝt argue in her[5] herte in þis maner: by his owne loore þis[6] may lawfulliche lye & make lesyngis lawfulliche in many maner[7] caas[8]; y noot noþer may wite wheþer he haue sich a cause now oþer no; þanne y schal noȝt trowe hym while he preche þ & techiþ. Þanne Seynt Austyn concludiþ & seiþ: 'To þe riȝtful manes office in noon wise[9] to telle willfulliche a lesyng.' Also þat is þe[10] comaundement & heeste of þe newe lawe as it is writen, Mathei 10° c°: 'Me axide of youre Lord, what schal y do for to haue lif wiþouten ende?', & oure Lord answerde and seide: 'Þou knowest þe heestes, þou schalt do no spouse-bruch, noþer sle, noþer stele, noþer bere fals witnesse, noþer do fraude noþer gile, worschip þi fader & þi moder, & so forþ.' A man may nouȝt lawfullich breke Goodes heeste for eny cause þat he hym-silf wole fynde, as hit soþlich semeþ. For by cause þerof Saul was cast out of þe kyngdom, for God had y-hote hym þat he schulde distruye al þe catel & riches of þe Amalachites, & he dide þe contrarie & kepte þe best[11] beestes for he wolde offre hem to God. & Samuel þe prophete answerde hym & seide: 'Obediens is better þan sacrifice & do as God hoteþ is better þan offre fatnesse of weþeres.' For hit is as hit were þe synne of sorcery & of wicchecrafte to wiþstonde, as hit were þe synne of mawmetre[12] to be nouȝt buxom to Goddes heste. p° [13] regum 19° c°. Also Osa put his hond to Goddes schryne[14] so þat he was in poynt

He condemns lying even though good may come.

No such thing as lawful lying, so says St. Austin.

Also the commandment of the new law. Mark 10:17-19. Matt 19:16-19.

A man may not break God's command. This is seen in the case of Saul, who disobeyed God.

I Samuel 15:22.

It is a sin of sorcery and witchcraft.

I Samuel 15.

[1] ne A C.
[2] *om.* A.
[3] *om.* C.
[4] al holy S.
[5] *om.* C.
[6] þese A C Ch S.
[7] maneres C.
[8] *om.* C.
[9] it longeþ in no wise S.
[10] *om.* A.
[11] *om.* S.
[12] mametrie A C Ch S.
[13] primo C.
[14] & hueld it vp for þe oxene hadde ystarteled & ouer cast þe schryne S.

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God's wrath to King Osa for touching the shrine. II Samuel 6:6, 7.

to [1] falle; and God was wroope wiþ Osa & smote hym for his foly & so Osa was ded. 2° regum 6° [2] c°. Also oure Lordes prophete þat was sent out of Juda into Bethel & was y-hote þat he schulde noþer ete ne drynke in þat place, but anoþer prophete þat was þere counseiled & prayed hym þat he schulde ete & drynke, & he seide how God had y-hote. '& ich am a prophete' quoþ [3] þat [4] oþer, 'as þou art', & he [5] eet & dranke & was slayn of a lyoun as he went * þennes, as it is writen. 4° regum 13° c°.

I Kings 13:11–25.

Fol. 11 b

These things prove that friars do deadly sin in stealing children from their parents.

Þese & oþer siche [6] preueþ þat freres doþ dedlich synne in [7] sich stelyng of children from her fadres & modres. And [8] it [9] semeþ þat þei synneþ [10] dedliche nouȝt onlich in þefþe, but also in fraude & gyle; for þe forseide auctorite seiþ, þat hit is y-hote: 'þou schalt do noþer [11] fraude ne gile, [12] noþer sle noþer stele,[12] noþer bere fals witnesse.' & aȝenus þe whiche heestes freres doþ as hit semeþ, whanne þei tolleþ to hem children wiþ fraude & wiþ gile; & Paul þe apostle hoteþ, þat no man schuld ouer passe noþer begile his broþer, for oure Lord is wrecheful in alle siche dedes, ad Thessalonicences 4° c°. Here of comeþ grete damage boþe to þe peple & to þe clergie; also to þe peple, for many men what þei loueþ [13] best in þis [13] worlde, þat is her owne children.

Not only is this the sin of theft, but also of fraud and guile.

Paul admonishes against a man beguiling his brother. I Thess. 4:6.

Great damage to the people and the clergy, as is seen in the Universities, where parents refuse to send their children, because of the influence of the friars. In my time the University of Oxford had its student body reduced from 30,000 to 6,000.

Also hit is grete damage to þe clergie; for now in þe Vniuersitees of þe rewme of Englonde, for children beþ so y-stole from her fadres & modres, lewed men in euereche place wiþholdeþ her children & sendeþ hem nouȝt to þe Vniuersite, for hem is leuer make [14] hem eerþe tilyers & haue hem þan sende hem to þe Vniuersite & lese [15] hem. So þat ȝet in my tyme in þe Vniuersite of Oxenford were þritty þousand scolers at ones, [16] & now ben vnneþe [16] sixe þousand. And me trowiþ þat þe grettest occasioun & cause why scolers beþ so [17] wiþdrawe, hit is for children beþ so [17] bigiled & y-stole; & y se noon [18] gretter damage to al þe clergie, þan is þis damage.

[1] for to A C Ch S.
[2] 8° S.
[3] seyde S.
[4] þis A C: þe Ch S.
[5] *om.* C.
[6] suche oþere A C.
[7] & C.
[8] þan A C.
[9] *om.* A C Ch S.
[10] synweþ Ch.
[11] no C.
[12–12] noþer stele ne slee C.
[13–13] yn best yn þis Ch.
[14] to make C.
[15] leuse Ch: luese S.
[16–16] and vnneþe now beþ S.
[17–17] *om.* C.
[18] No A C S.

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Also þere is more [1] grete damage þat vndoþ & distruyeþ þe [2] seculers of al maner faculte. For þese ordres of beggers for endeles wynnynges [3] þat þei geteþ by beggyng of þe forseide priueleges of schriftes and sepultures & oþer, þei beþ now so multiplyed in couentes and in persons, þat many men telliþ þat in general studies vnneþe is y-founde to sillyng a profitable book of þe faculte of art or of dyuynyte, of lawe canoun, of phisik, oþer of lawe ciuil, but alle bookes beþ y-bouȝt of freres. So þat in euerech couent of freres is a noble librarie and a grete; and so þat euerech frere þat haþ state in scole siche as þei beþ now, haþ an huge [4] librarye. And also y sent of my sugettes to scole þre oþer foure persones; & hit is seide me þat somme of hem beþ come home aȝen for þei myȝt nouȝt fynde [5] to selle [5] oon good Bible noþer oþer couenable bookes. ȝif þis be nouȝt grete damage in þe clergie, [6] no damage, [6] no damage may be þerinne. For hit semeþ þat [7] herof schulde come siche an ende þat no clergie schulde leue in holy chirche, but oonlich in freres; & so þe feiþ of holy chirche were loste but oonlich in þe [8] freres. & so hit semeþ þat hit were myche bettre þat prelates lefte al to hem þan þat þei distruye al holy chirche þat þei [9] beþ now so about [9] for to wynne.

Another damage is that the friars buy up all the useful books for their libraries,

and also the Bibles.

Thus it may come to pass that no learning remains in the church except among the friars.

Ich wondre & nouȝt onlich wondre, but ich am astonyed also why & by what maner hardynesse siche men praiseþ hem-silf in kunnyng aboue alle men, & aȝenus þe [10] resoun of philosophie & loore of Holy Writ, [11] in siche a maner wiþ-oute [12] ende. þe philosofer in his secunde book *de anima* seiþ þat þe worst þat is in kynde is passyng resoun of gretenesse & of encresinge. þanne it folewiþ þat þei holdiþ nouȝt þe lawe of kynde but forsakiþ hit, for þei wexiþ grete & encresiþ wiþ-oute eny ende. Also Holy Writ techiþ vs, Sapiencie xi c°, þat God made & ordeyned al in mesure, noumbre, & wiȝt. But sich multiplicacioun y-founded vppon beggyng & beggerye, as freres telleþ, may nouȝt * ordeyne a certeyn noumbre of persones þat þei

These men against Philosophy praise themselves in cunning.

Also against Holy Writ which says God ordained all in measure, number and wit. Proverbs 11:1.

Fol. 12 a

[1] anoþer A C Ch S.
[2] þe lore of S.
[3] wynnynge A C.
[4] hoyge.
[5–5] *om.* C.
[6–6] *om.* C S.
[7] *om.* C.
[8] *om.* C Ch S.
[9–9] beeþ so aboute now A C: beþ so now aboute S.
[10] *om.* S.
[11] chirche C.
[12] oute an C.

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schulde fynde, noþer þei mowe[1] of certein oon person fynde.

Friars have no steadfast place.

And beggers haueþ no wiȝt, þat[2] is a stidefast place, noþer mowe ordeyne for hem-silf a stidefast place, for verrey beggers euereche day[3] oþer as hit were euerech day,[3] beþ compelled to wende out of her place for nede. Also siche mowe nouȝt ordeyne mesure in persoues,[3] & in Goddes seruise most be certeyn noumbre of persons,[3] but beggers compelled by nede most leue þe seruise & go abegged ofte tyme.

Friars beg from all classes, not as poor men, not as St. Francis taught.

Þanne hit folewiþ þat þese[4] of þe ordres of beggers multepliеþ hem in þis maner azenus þe[5] ordenaunce of God Almyȝtyes[3] witt & his[3] wisdom, and bynymeþ þerby þe fleece[6] of þe peple & of þe clergie, & chargiþ hem in euerech place. For now vnneþe may any grete men oþer smaal, lewed or lered, take a morsel[7] of mete, but siche beggers come vnbede, & begge nouȝt as pore men schuld atte ȝate oþer atte dore, axing almes mekelich as Fraunces tauȝt and hoteþ in his testament, but þei comeþ into houses[8] & courtes & beþ y-harberwide & etiþ & drynkeþ what þei þer fyndeþ vnbede and vnprayed. & noþeles þei bereþ wiþ hem corn, oþer[9] mele, brede,[9] flesche oþer chese, þouȝ[10] þere be but tweyne in þe hous þei bereþ[11] wiþ hem[11] þat oon. & no man may hem werne but þei put of al kyndeliche schame.

They dread not the sentence of Pope Gregory.

And it is wonder þat þei drediþ nouȝt þe sentence of Pope Gregorye þat writeþ in a comyn priuelege to prelates of holy chirche in þis maner: 'For ofte vices of priuy riches entreþ, & Sathanas his angel degiseþ hym in þe liknesse of an angel of liȝt. By þis present auctorite we comaundeþ & hoteþ þat ȝif eny þat telliþ þat þei beþ of þe ordre of frere prechours, precheþ in ȝowre contrayes & turneþ hem to begging of money, wharby þe ordre of hem þat haueþ made profession to pouert myȝt be diffamed, take ȝe hem as fals faytours & dampneþ hem.' Þei beþ now so sotyl in þis crafte of beggerie þat pore vikers & persons & al þe peple pleyneþ þerof, neiȝ in euerech place. Þis semeth a wonder maner lyuyng in hem þat seyn, þat þei mot holde þe gospel by her professioun & doþ azenus Cristes owne

They are false and should be damned that thus beg.

[1] *om.* C.
[2] þat þat C.
[3–3] *om.* C.
[4] þues Ch S.
[5] manner of þe C.
[6] vluys Ch S.
[7] mossel A Ch.
[8] hous.
[9] & C.
[10] þei A C S: þeyz Ch.
[11–11] away C.

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sentence þat sente his disciples to *pr*eche þe gospel, & seide: 'Passe ȝe nouȝt from hous to hous.' Luce 10° c°. Also þei doþ aȝen*us* anoþ*er* scr*i*pture þat seiþ: 'Voide & war þat þou be noȝt herberwed from hous to hous.' Ecc*lesias*tici 29° c°. Bot þei goþ so about from court to court & from hous to hous, for her cloystr*e* schulde nouȝt be her pr*is*on. Ys nouȝt þis[1] grete damage to þe clergie & to þe peple also? Soþlich hit semeþ so[2] to many men; & al hit haþ occasioun of þe[1] mysvse of pryuyleges, for þei telliþ þat þei vseþ so þe pr*i*uyleges of pr*e*chyng & of heryng of schriftes, neiȝ eu*e*rech man schameþ to werne hem oþ*er* to put hem of.

They do contrary to Christ's gospel. Luke 10:6.

Ecclesiasticus 29:24.

They go from court to court and from house to house, which is a great damage to the clergy and the people.

And also þese pr*i*uyleges and oþ*er* þingis þat schal be touched wiþynne doþ freres many damages. For hit semeþ þat þese pr*i*uyleges infecteþ hem w*i*th many man*er* synnes: wiþ þe sy*n*ne of iniurie & of wrong, wiþ þe sy*n*ne of vnbuxomnesse, wiþ þe sy*n*ne of couetise, & wiþ þe sy*n*ne of pride. Hit semeþ þat boþe þe pr*o*curynge & þe holdynge of þese pr*i*uyleges, alle þat beþ conteyned in þe chapitre *dudum de sepulture* in *Cl*ementinis, & of þe oþ*er*e þat beþ rehersed toforhonde infecteþ freres wiþ [3]sy*n*nes.[3] Hit semeþ þat þe pr*o*curing of þese pr*i*uyleges infecteþ freres wiþ[3] þe synne of iniurie and wrong, touchyng curato*urs*, for þat pr*o*curyng is agen*us* Goddes heeste[4] þat seiþ[4]: 'Þou schalt nouȝt coueite, noþ*er* desire þi neiȝbores hous, noþ*er* his wif, noþ*er* his s*er*uaunt, noþ*er* his oxe noþ*er* his asse, noþ*er* any þinge þat is his.' Exodi xx° * c°. Hit is soþe þat þese riȝtes, þat freres haueþ y-pr*o*cured[5], were þe riȝtes of curato*urs*; þanne hit was aȝen*us* Goddes heeste[4] so to coueite þese riȝtes. Coue- tise longeþ to pr*o*curyng & is tofore pr*o*curyng in eu*e*reche man þat pr*o*curiþ. Also hit is nouȝt lawful to coueite þe curato*urs* oxe noþ*er* his asse, ffor hit is aȝen*us* Goddes heeste. Þanne hit is more wrongful to coueite þingis þat beþ more pr*o*fitable to þe curato*urs*, & siche beþ þese riȝtes. Also þat pr*o*curyng was y-do aȝen*us* þe[6] heeste of loue of þe[7] neiȝbore þat seiþ: 'Þou schalt loue þi neiȝbore as þi-silf.' & [8]eu*e*rech man loueþ so hymsilf[8] þat he wolde nouȝt þat oþ*er* men schulde coueite his

Ecclesiasticus 29:24.

This comes from the misuse of privileges by the church. Other sins which arise therefrom, i.e. injury, wrong, unbuxomness, covetousness and pride,

which sins are against God's commands. Exodus 20:17.

Fol. 12 b

These were the rights of curates, which friars have taken. This procuring of the rights of curates is against God's law.

[1] *om.* C.
[2] *om.* A C.
[3–3] *om.* S.
[4–4] *om.* C.
[5] procred Ch.
[6] *om.* S.
[7] þi A C S.
[8–8] *om.* C.

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catel wrongfulliche. Hit is soþe þat riȝtes of curatours þo were nouȝt due[1] to freres; þanne þei were wrongfulliche y-procured of hem & so aȝenus þat heest of God. Also hit may be preued by Cristes lore, Mathi 7° c°, þat seiþ: 'Al þat ȝe woleþ þat men do to ȝou, doþ ȝe[2] to hem, þat is þe lawe & þe prophetes.' Þere[3] doyng mot be take for dede & for sparyng of[4] dede, so þat we schal spare & nouȝt do to oþere men þat we wolde nouȝt þat oþere men[5] dide to vs,[6] [7]þat we schulde nouȝt wilne þat oþere men dide to vs[7]. But what frere wolde oþer by hem wilne schulde, þat monkes oþer chanons reulere[8] oþer[9] freres of oþer ordre, schulde bynyme hem þe priuyleges þat þei now haueþ? Y trowe þat no frere so wolde. Þanne schulde þei nouȝt do[10] siche wronges to curatours of hooly chirche.

This is also proved by Christ's teaching. Matt. 7 : 12.

Also procuryng of siche priuyleges infecteþ hem wiþ þe synne of vnbuxomnesse, for[11] priuyleges beþ contrarie to þe reules of her professioun. Y preue hit, for in her appele þei supposeþ & makeþ suggestioun & telleþ, þat þese foure ordres beþ ordeyned of holy chirche, & y-founded vppon beggerie & vppon heiȝest[12] pouert. Hit semeþ þat hauyng riȝt to preche and to cristen men may nouȝt stonde wiþ sich a foundment of beggerie, ȝif power of[13] axing & of[13] chalenging of liflode longeþ to þis priuylege, as hit doþ to riȝtful lawe, so þat freres myȝt chalange her liflode of hem þat þei prechiþ to þe gospel; as Cristes disciples hadde whanne Crist hem sent to preche þe gospel & seide: 'In what hous ȝe goþ yn[14] þere abideþ, þe werkman is worþi his mede.' Luce 10°[15] c°. Hit semeþ þat siche schulde nouȝt be clepede[16] beggers. How schulde he be[17] cleped verrey begger? Y saye nouȝt begging þat haþ fre riȝt to chalange his liflode. Y se nouȝt how hit schuld stonde. Noþer inquisitours noþer freres of her ordre þat haueþ office, by þe whiche þei mowe certeynlich chalange her liflode schuld be cleped beggers for

Friars by methods they use are not real beggars, as they profess to be by their foundation. Christ's disciples were not called beggars. Luke 10 : 7. They were commanded to get their living.

[1] dewe A C: þewe Ch S.
[2] ȝe þe same A C.
[3] here A.
[4] for A C.
[5] *om.* S.
[6] þat oþere men dide to vs *repeated in* H.
[7–7] *om.* A C S.
[8] reguler A C.
[9] oþer of S, *and* of *crossed out.*
[10] vse C.
[11] for þes S.
[12] þe hiȝeste C.
[13] *om.* C Ch S.
[14] *om.* S.
[15] 18 C S.
[16] kept *in* A *but crossed out, with* cleped *written.*
[17] by C S.

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schame of þe name, whanne þei schulde knowe in cause of heresie & of þe laste riȝtful dome. Me seiþ þat þei vseþ siche office ful ofte & takeþ maisterfullich grete summes of money.[1] Noþer a penytaunser noþer a lystere þat haþ his liflode by certeyn couenaunt schuld be cleped verrey begger, as hit semeþ. And so þei brekiþ her professioun in procuryng & vsyng of þese offices; & so hit semeþ þat boþe in willyng & in procuring of siche priuyleges þei wolde put of & doo away her rule of beggerie; y saye nouȝt of begging þat bitokeneþ[2] þe dede. And so in her herte þei haueþ y-put of & y-do awey her rule as Crist seiþ in siche a doyng: 'Who þat seeþ[3] a woman for to desire hir[4] now he haþ do lecherie[5] in his herte.' Mathi 9° c°. But ȝif freres telleþ, & soþlich, as me semeþ, as y schal schewe ynnermore þat to þe offys of prechyng longeþ power to chalange nedeful liflode of hem þat me precheþ to.* But freres beþ nouȝt cleped noþer committed to vse þat office, but haueþ a baar leue & beþ nouȝt y-hote noþer chargide to vse þat office.

By[6] anoþer hed followiþ þe same of priuyleges of sepultures, of leue to here schriftes,[7] of fonginge of offrynges þat beþ þanne offred to God & of þe priuylege of heryng of schriftes[7] of alle þat wole be schryue to hem. For God hoteþ: 'þou[8] schalt nouȝt schewe þi-silf to-fore þe Lord God voyde wiþ-out offryng, whanne þou gost into chirche for to haue þe sacramentis', as it is writen Exodi 23° c°. Þei falleþ into þe synne of vnbuxomnesse aȝenus obedience, for þei vseþ þat office aȝenus þe lore of þe apostle,[9] ad Romanos 10°[10] c°, here þe apostle[9] seiþ: 'How schul þei preche but þei be sent?' As it is writen: 'How faire beþ þe feet of þe prechours þat prechiþ pees, þat prechiþ good!' Ad Hebreos 9° c°: 'No man to hym-silf takiþ worschip, but he þat is cleped of God.' Also þei doþ aȝenus Cristes lore þat seiþ: 'ȝe schal haue no wille to be cleped maister;[11] oon is ȝour[11] maister, þat is Crist.' Mathi 20° c°. Þanne þei beþ vnobedient & vnbuxom, þat bihoteþ[12] in her professioun[12] to holde & kepe

Friars not only challenge their living, but also take great sums of money. Therefore they should not be called beggars.

So they have put away the rule of begging.

Matt. 5:28.

Fol. 13 a

Friars have no right to challenge their living.

None shall appear before the Lord empty. Exodus 23:15.

Romans 10:15.

Hebrews 5:4.

Matt. 23:8, 10.

[1] symonye S.
[2] tokeneþ A C Ch S.
[3] seweþ A C S: suweþ Ch.
[4] *om.* C.
[5] spouse breche A C Ch S.
[6] but C.
[7–7] *om.* A.
[8] þat þou A C Ch S.
[9–9] *om.* C.
[10] 18 S.
[11–11] and beeþ nouȝt ycleped A C Ch S.
[12–12] *Repeated in* A Ch.

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The effect of the procuring of these privileges on Friars.

Cristes gospel.[1] Also of frere menours hit may specialich folewe, for no man douteþ but hit is y-knowe þat þei haueþ more worldliche & more esy lif & lasse medeful lif wiþ þese priuyleges, [2] þan wiþ-out þese pryuyleges,[2] of prechyng, of heryng of schriftes, of hauyng sepultures, &[3] appropreþ to hem þe þre ferþe deles of profites þat comeþ.

St. Francis forbade friars these privileges.

Hit is lasse medeful to[4] lyue wiþ þese priuyleges þanne wiþ-out þese priuyleges, as Seint Fraunceys had ordeyned hem for to lyue. Þanne in procuryng of þese priuyleges þei by-heelde bacward, after þat þei hadde[5] y-put her hond to þe plowe,

They looked backward and disobeyed St. Francis's rule, which says:

ayenus þe heest of God & ayenus Seynt Fraunceys reule. In his rule in þe secunde chapitre hit is writen in þis maner: 'Whanne þe 3ere of assaye is y-do þei schul be[5] fonge to behote obedience'; for as þe gospel seiþ: 'No man þat putteþ his hond to þe plowe & by-holdeþ bacward is worþi þe kyngdom of God'; so it is write þere.[6]

The sin of disobedience and unbuxomness in friars as

Þanne þei þat procured siche priuyleges felle into þe synne of vnobedience & vnbuxomnesse, for þei by-helde bacward wiþ-oute any doute.

is seen in the following way.

Also in þe bygynnyng of þe same chapitre, hit is writen: '3if eny men[7] wolleþ fonge þis lif & comeþ to oure freres, þe freres schal sende hem to her mynistres prouyncial; for þei & noon oþer haueþ leue to[8] fonge freres. Þanne þe mynistres schal examyne hem bisiliche of þe riȝt feiþ & of þe sacramentis of holy chirche, & 3if þei trowiþ al þis & knowlechiþ & wole truliche holde & kepe hem to her lyues ende,' & so forþe. But freres procureþ a priuylege þat boþe þe mynistres prouyncial & lasse men in þe ordre þan þe mynistres prouyncial, mowe fonge men to her ordre. And freres doþ so indifferentlich, & in procurynge of þat priuylege, þei wolde distruye & slake a partie of þe rule; þanne it folewiþ þat þei dide[9] þe synne[10] of vnobedience & of vnbuxomnesse. And 3if þei doþ[11] wiþoute priuylege, þei doþ[9] neuerþelas vnobedientliche ayenus her professioun. Also ayenus þis clause of þe rule, þe mynistres schal

[1] *After* gospel *is written* & procureþ such priueyleges ayenste the lawe of þe gospel S.
[2–2] *om.* C.
[3] & to S.
[4] for to S.
[5] *om.* C.
[6] þe C.
[7] man C S.
[8] *om.* A C Ch S.
[9–9] *om.* C Ch S.
[10] synnes A.
[11] doþ by & Ch.

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examyne hem bisilich,[1] fre*re*s doþ al day. For neiȝ no man comeþ to hem but þe child þat is bigiled, þat knowiþ[2] what noþ*er* how many *sacra*mentes beþ of holy chirche, noþ*er* can knowe bitwene riȝt feye & heresie. & ȝitt vnneþe is y-founde eny notable place of freres wiþout a couent oþ*er* half of children wiþ-yn*n*e ten ȝere olde. & who may doute þat* þat is nouȝt in fre*re*s þe sy*n*ne of vnobedience, & comeþ by þe forseide pr*iu*yleges, by þe whiche þei beþ so made riche & y-worschiped þat children assenteþ liȝtlich for to do her wille, & namelich her wille þat hereþ schriftes in her owne hous,[3] oþ*er* in þe hous[3] of children frendes. Þanne þe pr*o*curyng &[4] mysuse of þese pr*iu*yleges infecteþ þese freres wiþ sy*n*ne of vnobedience & vnbuxomnesse, as hit semeþ. Fol. 13 b

The power of friars over children.

Also in Seynt[5] Fr*a*unceys rule, & in þe chapitre *Exiit, de Verbor*um *Sign*ificatione, *li*bro 6^to^, hit is seide & declared þat freres schal kepe & holde þat þei pr*e*che in no bischops bischopriche ȝif þe bischop wiþ-seiþ hem. Also Seynt Fr*a*unceis in his testament seiþ: 'Þouȝ[6] ich had as grete kun*n*yng as eu*er* had Salomon, & ich fynde pore pr*e*stes of þis world in parische þ*er*e[7] þei woneþ, y wole nouȝt pr*e*che aȝen*us* her wille, & hem alle ich wole drede & louye & worschipe as my Lordes, & þei beþ my Lordes'; þis is writen þ*er*e. But what worschip freres doþ now to pore pr*e*stes hit may nouȝt be hidde while hit is newe[8]; but vnreu*e*r*e*nce in eu*er*ech place may be founde y-do in stede of reu*e*r*e*nce. And þei pr*o*cureþ[9] þe pr*iu*ylege þat is conteyned in þe chapitr*e*, & in þat pr*o*curynge þei hadde in her wille þe synne of vnbuxomnesse, for þei wolde vndo þat lawe þat þei hadde toforhonde & were wiþ y-chargide. Vppon þis vers of þe Psaut*er*, '*legem pone mihi domine viam iustificacionum tua*rum,' & so forþ, Seint Austin seiþ[10] in þis man*er*: 'He þat holdeþ the lawe for drede of peyne & nouȝt for loue of riȝtwisnesse, he holdeþ þe lawe maugre[11] his teeþ; for ȝif he myȝt leue he wolde nouȝt holde þe lawe but he wolde þat hit were no lawe & so he is no frende of þe lawe but enemy þ*er*of, while he wolde þat[12]

St. Francis declares that friars shall not preach in the bishop's district without his consent.

Friars do not show reverence to priests.

St. Augustine says of a man who holds the law for fear and not for love that he is its enemy.

[1] bisiliche as C.
[2] knoweþ noȝt S.
[3] houses C.
[4] of C.
[5] seyn Ch.
[6] þeiȝ A C Ch S.
[7] of þere C.
[8] noon S.
[9] procreþ A Ch.
[10] *om.* C.
[11] maugreþ S.
[12] *om* S.

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hit were nou3t, & no man is clensed by þe dede, 3if he is vnclene in his wille.' Þus[1] seiþ Seint Austyn. Hit is soþe þat he þat procureþ as freres dooþ, may nou3t wiþ-out leue of þe bischop [2]preche in his bischopriche, noþer[2] here schriftes. Þanne þei wolde þat þe rule þat is contrarie were nou3t; & so þei holdeþ hit nou3t for loue of ri3twisnesse bote for drede of peyne; & so þei wolde þat þei hadde noon heeste to holde þe reule; & so þei were no frendes but enemyes to þe raþer lawe & vnclene of wille as Austyn seiþ. Also þese þat procureþ priuyleges contrarie to here reule & to her profession & to her parfitnesse also, mowe nou3t truliche seye þis clause of þe paternoster in þat caas: 'Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo & in terra', þat is, 'Þi wille be do in erþe as hit is in heuene'. And 3ett þei be y-holde þerto by þe profession þat þei makiþ of þe gospel.

Those who procure privileges may not say 'Thy will be done'.

Seynt Fraunceys bygynneþ his rule in þis maner: 'Þis is þe reule & þe lif of[3] frere menours to holde & kepe þe gospel of oure Lord Ihesu; and it is Goddes wille þat his heeste & his counseil be y-holde as euereche knoweþ'. Þanne it is Goddes wille þat freres holde her rule atte fulle, þat þei haueþ y-made in[4] her profession to holde; also þat is y-hote in þe secunde chapitre of þe rule. And þese freres in her herte procureþ þe contrarie, & procureþ þat þe keping of þe reule be y-slaked & wiþdrawe. And so hit sueþ[5] þat freres, þat so procureþ, beþ infect wiþ þe synne of vnobedience & vnbuxumnesse a3enus God & a3enes her owne rule. Hit semeþ þat þis folewiþ also of anoþer hed. For þese freres noþer oþer freres mowe here schriftes, noþer use[6] þe[7] office of prechyng, noþer fonge holy ordres, þe whiche þei fongeþ wiþ þe synne of vnbuxomnesse as hit * semeþ. For it is comyn lawe of holy cherche þat no man schulde fonge holy ordre, but he haue suffisaunt tytel[8] to haue mete & drynke and cloþe; and siche a tytel haueþ nou3t freres while þei beþ verrey beggers as þei telliþ hem-silf. Þanne it semeþ þat a3enes þis lawe alle freres fongeþ holy ordres; & so in procuryng of so hei3 a[9] state þei falleþ nou3t onlich into þe

St. Francis's rule in regard to friars.

Friars may not do thus without being obedient.

Fol. 14 a

Friars should have meat and drink before they take on holy orders.

[1] þis A C Ch S.
[2–2] *om.* C.
[3] of þe C.
[4] *om.* A C Ch S.
[5] seweþ A C S: syweþ Ch.
[6] use of C Ch S.
[7] *om.* C Ch S.
[8] tyme C.
[9] *om.* A C Ch S.

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synne of vnobedience & vnbuxumnesse, but also into þe synne of coueitise. Also in[1] Seint Fraunceys reule in þe same chapitre of prechyng, hit is y-hote þat no frere schuld be hardy in eny[2] maner wise to preche to þe peple, but he be examyned & appreued of þe mynistre general, & haue leue[3] of hym, & graunt[3] to vse þe office of prechyng. But now is a priuylege y-procured for þe contrarie þat þe mynistres prouyncial schuld do þe same, & þei þat procureþ hit doþ hit[4] azenus her owne rule. Þanne þei doþ þe synne of vnobedience & vnbuxomnesse.

Thus they are covetous.

St. Francis says that a friar should not preach until he is examined and approved by the minister general.

Also Seint Fraunceis in his testament hoteþ & seiþ in þis manere: 'Ich hote alle freres heiȝliche by[5] obedience where þei euer be, þat þei be nouȝt hardy to axe eny lettre in þe court of Rome by hem-silf, noþer by mene persone, noþer for chirche, noþer for eny place, noþer for hope of preching, noþer for persecucioun of heres'; þis is I-seide þere. & freres haueþ y-do þe contrarie in her owne persone & y-procured þese[6] priuyleges,[7] & also by lettres. For in þe priuyleges[7] hit is conteyned in þis maner, we beþ y-bowed to ȝoure prayers; & so it semeþ þat þis procuryng infecteþ þe procuratours wiþ þe synne of vnobedience & vnbuxomnesse; but on caas here þei wole seye as it is seide in þe decretal[8] of þe ferþe pope Nichol, Exiit, þat þe nynþe[9] pope Gregorie declared, þat freres beþ nouȝt y-holde to þe heste of Seynt Fraunceis þat is conteyned in þat testament. And me answereþ hem þat pope Nichol seiþ nouȝt þat þe nynþe[9] pope Gregorie declared so, but he seiþ as me seiþe; & so hit semeþ þat freres had no declaracioun per vppon. For it is semelich þat[10] ȝif þei hadde eny lettre þei wolde haue schewed hit tofore pope Nichol, & þanne it semeþ þat þei wolde nouȝt saye as me seiþ, but as me haueþ y-seye conteyned in his lettres. Also be hit þat pope Gregorie so declared, ȝet his entent was noon oþer þan his resouns concludiþ. Pope Nichol in þe same decretal Exiit, spekiþ of þe nynþe[9] pope Gregorie & seiþ in þis maner: He, as me seiþ, syȝ[11] þe peryl of soules & difficulte þat þei myȝt falle ynne þerby, & meuede þe doute out of her hertes,

Friars should not ask letters in the court of Rome by themselves.

They have done so.

The ninth Pope Gregory's declaration in regard to St. Francis's rule. This has been misinterpreted.

Pope Nichol's interpretation of Pope Gregory's decretal.

[1] *om.* C Ch.
[2] meny Ch.
[3–3] and graunt of hym S.
[4] *om.* S.
[5] be C.
[6] þe C.
[7–7] *om.* C.
[8] decretales A C.
[9] nyþe Ch S.
[10] *om.* S.
[11] sei A C.

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& seide þat freres beþ nouȝt y-holde to kepe þat heeste þat may nouȝt oblege wiþ-out assent of freres, & namelich wiþ-oute assent of mynystres, for hit touchiþ alle freres; & hit oblegide[1] his successour in noon[2] maner wise, for of twey peres noþer haþ power & heeste ouer oþer. Aȝenes þis present article we beþ nouȝt avised eny þinge to renewe; þis is y-write þere. Perfore pope Gregorie seiþ: 'ȝif he ouȝt dide in þat he made nouȝt a decre oþer[3] a[4] declaracioun, þat freres were nouȝt y-bounde to þat heeste of Seint Fraunceys to vnderstonde in þat þat hit was his heeste; for his resouns preueþ nouȝt elles, þat þei were[5] alle y-cleped þat hadde to doyng þerwiþ. For of twey peres neiþer[6] haþ power & heeste ouer oþer'. By[7] þis declaracioun hit semeþ þat hit may stonde þat freres be neuerþelasse y-holde[8] and holde[8] þat testament, ȝif Fraunceys bitoke hem þat by[9] auctorite of God; for hit neded nouȝt to clepe þe mynystres noþer Fol. 14 b Fraunceys successours to examyne Goddes * heeste. So þat nouȝtwiþstondinge þese[10] resouns freres were þo y-holde,[11] & ȝet be[11] to kepe & holde þat testament by auctorite & heeste of God, by Fraunceys y-schewide to[12] freres. And þat it was so, hit semeþ by þe same testament[13] atte ende[13], þer it is seide in þis maner: 'And seye nouȝt freres þis is anoþer reule, for hit is[14] mynde and warnyng & chargyng & my testament, þat ich litel & symple frere Fraunceys make to ȝow my[15] blessed freres. Perfore to kepe & holde þe better & more holiliche þe rule, þat we haueþ byhote to oure Lord, þe mynystre general & oþer mynistres & custodes, be þei y-holde by[16] obedience in þese noþinge to putt to, noþer wiþ-drawe'. Also haue þei þis wiþ heṁ y-write riȝt fast by þe reule & yn euereche chapitre, þat þei makeþ whanne þei rediþ þe reule: 'Rede þei þese wordes to alle my freres lered & lewed, ich hote by obedience þat þei sette no glose in þe reule noþer seye þese wordes so þei wolde mene & vnderstonde, but as oure Lord ȝaf me to saye & write

Friars should observe and hold the testament of Francis.

Another rule of St. Francis,

which he exhorts his brother friars to observe and obey.

[1] oblege A C.
[2] no S.
[3] oþer of C.
[4] *om.* C S.
[5] were noȝt S.
[6] noþer A C Ch S.
[7] why A C Ch: wiþ S.
[8–8] *om.* C: to holde S.
[9] be C.
[10] *om.* C.
[11–11] *om.* C.
[12] to þe S.
[13–13] at þe A C S: attenende Ch.
[14] is in C.
[15] myn Ch.
[16] be C.

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þe reule purelich[1] & sympeliche; & þese wordes vnderstonde 3e wiþ-oute glose & kepe 3e[2] & holde 3e hem *with* holy entent[3] anone to þe ende'; þis is y-write *þere*.

Hereby hit semeþ *þat* freres mowe chese oon of[4] tweyne, oþer saye þat þe founder of here ordre Fraunceys in his testament[5] made a lesyng & is y-dampned, oþer soþ seide þat his testament[5] is nou3t anoþer reule, but mencioun & mynde[6] of þe raþer rule þat was hem y-3eue. And so as þei beþ y-holde to kepe & holde þe reule, so þei beþ y-holde to kepe & holde þat testament. Also Fraunceys seide þat he made this testament to his blessed freres, for þei schuld þe better & þe more holilich kepe & holde þe[7] reule þat þei hadden bi-hote to God. Þanne oþer he made anoþer lesyng, & þei schul efte seye, þat he is dampned, oþer by kepyng & holdyng of his testament þei schuld þe better & þe more holyliche kepe & holde þe reule; & so wiþ-out kepyng & holdyng of þis testament þei schulde kepe & holde[8] here þe lasse holilich, þei procured declaracioun for þe contrarie & [9] biheelde bakward in þe wey of þe kingdom of god,[10] & wente bakward & were vnable to þe kingdom of god[10]; and so þei were infect wiþ þe synne of vnobedience & vnbuxomnesse. Also he hoteþ his freres by obedience þat þei schulde nou3t put to noþer wiþdrawe þerof, & þat þei schulde alwey haue wiþ hem þat testament ri3t by her rule. Þanne oþer þei schal seye þat he heet & dide wrechchidlich in þe cause of[11] so grete peryl & is y-dampned for þat synne, oþer þat he 3af hem þat heeste ri3tfulliche & holiliche. And þanne þei most schewe why þei byheelde bakward & made hem[12] self vnable to þe kyngdom of God, whanne þei put of & forsoke so grete holynesse.

St. Francis made the testament to better his blessed friars.

But the friars procured another declaration contrary to St. Francis, and so they are infected with the sin of disobedience.

Also in þese wordes Fraunceys seiþ þat oure Lord 3af hym, purelich[13] & symplelich wiþ-out condicioun, þis reule & þese wordes to say and to write. Þanne oþer,[14] for a[15] grete lesyng[16] at his lyues ende, freres schal saye þat he is dampned oþer þat

St. Francis commanded by the Lord to give this rule.

[1] poreliche S.
[2] *om.* C.
[3] intent Ch.
[4] or C.
[5–5] *om.* C.
[6] muynde Ch.
[7] here A Ch S: hire C.
[8] *om.* A C.
[9] and þei A.
[10–10] *om.* C.
[11] and A C.
[12] hym C.
[13] poreliche S.
[14] *om.* A.
[15] *om.* A C Ch: so S.
[16] alesynge A C Ch.

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he soþlich seide þat oure Lord 3af hit to hym, so for he schulde telle hit þe [1] freres, & so [2]he tolde to his freres Goddes owne heeste. And so, þou3 [3] þei be [2] not y-holde to holde & kepe þat testament by-cause of Seynt Fraunceys heeste, 3et þei beþ y-holde to kepe & holde hit, for hit is Goddes owne heeste, y-tolde hem & y-schewide by her owne founder Seynt [4] Fraunceys.

It is God's command told to them by their founder St. Francis.

Fol. 15 a

Þanne freres mowe chese wheþer party hem * likeþ of tweyne. Y trowe þat þei wolleþ chese & saye þat he seide [5] wiþ-out siche [6] leesyng & synne. Þanne hit semeþ [7] þat freres, in [8] procuryng lettres of þe pope a3enus þe heeste of God & of her owne reule, infecteþ hem-silf wiþ þe synne of vnobedience and vnbuxomnesse.

Y speke þe more largelich in þis mater a3enus frere menours, [9] for þei bigunne þe cause at Londoun & 3af occasioun to opere freres of opere ordres; for þei disputeþ more þan opere of þe [10] parfitnesse of þe gospel & telliþ þat hit stondiþ in skilful [11] beggerye. So þat oon of þat ordre prechide on [12] Alle Halwen Day, as hit was reported to me, & discreuede foure degrees of pouert, & seide þat þe ferþe degre is of [13] most parfi3tnesse of þe gospel & is to haue no-þynge in þis worlde in propre noþer in comyn but begge wiþ Crist. & þat sawe sclaundriþ þe staat of 3ow & of vs alle þat beþ in lowere degre. Þerfore holy fader, here vppon as vppon [14] opер poyntes þat beþ seide toforhond, 'demeþ nou3t by þe face but ri3tful dome 3e deme'. Hit semeþ grete wonder & more verreilich to speke, hit semeþ nou3t soþe þat a þousand 3ere [15] & nei3 two hundred, noon ordre was in Cristes chirche here in erþe, þe whiche chirch Joon [16] þe [17] apostle clepeþ Jerusalem toward þe ende of þe Apocalips [15]: 'And y Joon [16] sy3 þe holy cite þe newe Jerusalem come doun from heuene arayed as a spousesse y-socyed to hir spouese'; & noon ordre was in Cristes chirche þat helde þe parfitnesse of þe

Friars at London dispute of the perfection of the Gospel and tell that it stands in beggary. One of them preached a sermon in which he described four degrees of poverty.

St. John the apostle calls Christ's Church the holy city of the new Jerusalem, which came down to earth.

[1] to C.
[2–2] *om.* S.
[3] þey3 Ch.
[4] seyn Ch.
[5] deyde S.
[6] *om.* C.
[7] syweþ C.
[8] & C.
[9] minors S.
[10] *om.* C.
[11] wilful S.
[12] an Ch: in an S.
[13] *om.* C.
[14] þan Ch.
[15] *om.* S.
[16] ion S.
[17] in C.

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gospel, but Fraunceys þat was ȝitt a nouys fonde vp[1] þe first ordre; for holy chirche here[2] in erþe is cleped Jerusalem in seynt[3] Joones wordes, & seynt Joon seiþ þat hit comeþ doun from heuene. Þanne it is soþe þat holy chirche here in erþe, þat come doun from holy chirche þat is in heuene, had parfitnesse of hir founder, þat is Crist, & was arayed as a spouses[4] to Crist, þat was & is hir spouse, & was nouȝt so vnsemelich þo, & so many ȝere þerafter wiþ-oute þe state of[5] grattest parfitnesse. Also who myȝt suffre abliche &[6] here þat Fraunceys, þat was but[7] a nouys[8] in þe fey ordeyne þe wey of parfitnesse of mankynde,[9] better & more profitabliche, þan God þat is al good & al witty. & in þe first ordynaunce of man God ordeyned hym so þat anoon as man was made, God put hym in Paradys for he schuld worche & kepe Paradys; so hit is writen in þe bygynnyng of Hooly Writ. Hit semeþ me þat þere God tauȝt þat bodilich werk, possessioun and plente of riches & vnmebles,[10] & warde & keping þerof for mannes vse, schuld be sett to-fore beggerie; for god sett man in Paradys for he schuld worche. And hereto acordeþ Hooly Writ in anoþer place & seiþ: 'Man is y-bore to trauail & a foul to fliȝt'. Job 5° c°. For man schuld kepe Paradys as his owne & haue [11]þere plente of good[11], & catel, meble & vnmeble; but hereof y schal speke more largelich. Þanne hit semeþ þat freres infecteþ hem-silf wiþ þe synne of vnbuxumnesse in procuryng[12] of þese priuyleges.

Therefore the holy church that came down from heaven must be perfect.

It was ordained by God, not by St. Francis.

God taught that man should work.

Holy Writ teaches that man should work. Job 5:7.

[13]Also hit semeþ þat freres infecte hem-self wiþ þe synne of couetise in procuringe of þese priueleges[13]; first for þei procured nouȝt oþere priuyleges in helpe of oþere peryls of þe office of presthode, as to folly[14] children in help of curatours, & housle paryschons on[15] Ester day and anoynt seke men at her ende[16] day. And þese dedes myȝt be as medeful as þe oþere; but þese þei lefte & procuride priuyleges, to þe whiche longeþ worldlich wynnyng & profit in oon maner wise oþer oþere. And so þei

They left the work of the church and procured privileges which

[1] vppon A C: ap Ch: vp S.
[2] here here C.
[3] seyn Ch.
[4] spouse A C Ch S.
[5] of þe S.
[6] *om.* S.
[7] hote A Ch: hoote C.
[8] noon A: non C.
[9] mankynge C: mankunde Ch.
[10] vnmeble A C Ch S.
[11–11] þerof good & plente C.
[12] procryng Ch.
[13–13] MS. omits. From A.
[14] cristene AC: volly Ch: fully S.
[15] and A.
[16] ending C.

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gave them profit, and thus became chapmen. Through pretended beggary they became rich.

beþ made more wondrefull þan eny chapmen oþer craftes men, Fol. 15 b for to gete profit * & wynnyng wiþ her professioun þat þei feyneþ to holde in beggerie. Y trowe nouȝt þat siþþe þe world was first made, was an esyere wey, more slyȝ & wyly to gadre riches, þan by þe forseide priuyleges wiþ þe obligacioun of beggerie soþlich oþer y-feyned [1]. Also nouȝtwiþstondinge þat freres hadde fre [2] power to fonge dede bodyes to sepulture in her place, ȝett myȝt þe comyn riȝt & lawe abide in þe persoon so þat alle þe offrynges & riȝtes of sepulture schuld be dewe [3] to parische chirches & to [4] curatours þerof. Þanne for freres haueþ procured þat oon wiþ þat oþer hit is clerelich y-knowe þat coueitise was cause of þat procuryng. *Primo posteriorum*, hit is Aristotels reule for to fynde redelich what is þe principal cause of [5] entent & of desire, and seiþ þat ȝif þat cause is had þe entent & desire is [6] had, and [7] ȝif [8] þat cause faileþ [9] þe entent and desire faileþ [9]. Þis reule preueþ þat worldliche profit & wynnyng was chief cause in procuryng of þese priuyleges, for þerwiþout was nouȝt þat procuryng, & þei procurede oonlich þe priuyleges to þe whiche longeþ sich profiȝt & wynnyng. Hereof hit [10] is an open token þat þei rauyschiþ no [11] pore dede [12] mennes [13] bodyes for to burie as Thobie dide; but þei smelleþ her mete & witeþ where hit is & feccheþ hit fyve hundrid myle ouer þe see as vulturs [14] doþ, as þe comentor Aueroys seiþ, 2° *de anima*, c° *de odore*, as ich haue in mynde. Þis token schewiþ cleere y-nowȝ þat freres procuride þis pryuylege of sepulture wiþ þe offrynges þat longeþ þerto, principalich for fode & nouȝt for to vse medeful dedes of mercy.

Covetousness as seen in the rights of sepulture.

The procuring of all privileges was to obtain profit and winning.

He compares them to vultures in the procuring of the privileges of sepulture for the purposes of profit and not for deeds of mercy.

Also of þe priuylege of heryng of schriftes indistinctlich of alle men, [15] hit semeþ [15] a grete euydence, for me may not skilfulliche suppose oþer wise, for oþere holy men hereþ nouȝt schriftes in þat wise. Hit is y-nowȝ to euerech man to knowe his owne synne þouȝ he lerne nouȝt of oþere men [16] synnes. Þer-

[1] in feyned C.
[2] þe C.
[3] dede C: þewe Ch S.
[4] to þe A Ch S.
[5] of þe S.
[6] *om.* C.
[7] and I ȝeue C.
[8] *om.* C.
[9] falleþ C.
[10] *om.* C.
[11] noon A C.
[12] *om.* A.
[13] men A C Ch S.
[14] vowtreres C.
[15–15] *repeated* A.
[16] menis A C.

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fore noþer white monkes, ne blak, noþer chanouns reuler, noþer oþer hooly men desireþ sich an office. And wiþ-out drede ȝif sich procuryng come of deuocioun, hit schuld be somtyme y-knowe in oþere hooly men & nouȝt onlich in hooly freres. Þanne it may be skilfullich concluded þat coueitise enfecteþ þe soule of þe procuratour as cheef cause in siche a[1] procuryng.

Covetousness and not devotion impells friars to obtain the privilege of hearing shrifts.

Also Seynt Fraunceys in his rule hoteþ in þis maner: 'Ich hote heiȝlich alle freres þat þei haue noon[2] suspect company as counseil of wymmen; also þat þei come nouȝt in Abbayes of monchons[3] out-take þilke freres þat haue special leue of þe court of Rome; also þat þei be nouȝt[4] gossippes[5] to men noþer to wymmen, leste sclaundre arise by occasioun þerof among freres'. And freres procureþ þe contrarie for to here þe priuyeste counseile of wymmen, of queenes, & of alle oþere, &[6] leggeþ hed to hed. Wiþ grete obedience þei folewiþ Seynt Job þat seide: 'Ich haue made couenaunt wiþ myn eiȝen þat y wolde[7] þenke of a mayde'. And so now by sich company þei disputeþ wiþ ladyes in chambre; þerfore in al þe worlde wide sclaunder springeþ of freres, þe wiche sclaundre y wole nouȝt reherse at þis tyme. Of many hit semeþ openlich þat þei infecteþ hem-silf wiþ þe synne of vnobediens & vnbuxumnesse by þe mys-vse of siche priuyleges, & of her owne reule by occasioun of siche priuyleges.

Further rules of St. Francis.

Friars commit sin with women.

This slander arises in connexion with friars.

And þat þe procuryng of þese priuyleges infecteþ þe soules of þe procuratours wiþ þe synne of pruyde, y preue hit first. For in þe decretal *Exiui de paradiso, in Cle. de Verborum Significatione*, hit is seide þat Seynt Fraunceys wolde founde his ordre in þe heiȝeste pouert and * mekenesse. And procuryng of heiȝ state[8] of worschip of holy chirche inpugneþ mekenesse, and haþ by couetise, pride, & synne, longinge þerto. Þanne þe procuryng of þese priuyleges infecteþ þe soules of þe procuratours wiþ þe synne of pride[9]; & þat procuryng of heiȝ state of[10] worschip of holy[11] chirche[12] inpugneþ mekenesse, & haþ by

The sin of pride comes from this procuring.

Pride instead of meekness.

Fol. 16 a

[1] *om.* C.
[2] no S.
[3] mynchouns A C S.
[4] none C.
[5] gossibbes A C: godsybbes Ch S.
[6] þat C.
[7] wolde noȝt S.
[8] estate C.
[9] prute Ch: pruyte S.
[10] & C.
[11] hiȝ S.
[12] statt S.

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This is shown in our Lord's answer to the sons of Zebedee.

couetise & pride[1] longinge þerto, hit is preued by þe answere þat oure Lord 3af to 3ebedeus sones, & seide: '3e witeþ nou3t what 3e axeþ.' Þei axide by her moder þat þe oon of hem schulde sitte in[2] his ri3t side & þe oþer in his lifte[3] side in his Kyngdom. Þere-vppon, *opere imperfecto*, Joon wiþ þe gilden mouþe seiþ: 'Heelful error*our* þat vndide þe error*our* of al þe worlde. 3if þe apostles hadde nou3t y-erred how my3t we knowe, þat nou3t al þing þat semeþ is good? But now we knoweþ for somwhat is beste & most good to þe primate of worschip. & anoon þerafter for[4] þe desyre of primate comeþ of pryde of herte; for he[5] þat is meke of herte desireþ neuer to seme hei3 aboue oþere. And ynner-more he seiþ to desire seculer primate þou3 it be no3t ri3tful[6] resone; 3et þere is somme cause þou3t it be nou3t ri3tful[6], 3et it is profitable. But to[7] desire primate of[8] holy chirche, hit is nou3t resoun, noþer cause, noþer ri3tful, noþer profitable'. Þis is writen þere, & he telleþ þere many siche sawes by þe whiche he wole preue þat neuer wiþoute couetise is desired primate of holy chirche.

John with the golden mouth says:

The desire of supremacy comes of pride of heart.

The man who desires supremacy in holy church is covetous.

Þis is confermed in anoþer maner; for þe apostle seiþ: 'How schul þei[9] preche but 3if[10] þei be y-sent?' as hit is y-write, How feir beþ þe feet of hem þat preche þ pees & of hem þat preche þ good!' ad Romanos 10c c°. & by noþinge þat iche[10] haue 3ett y-seye þei[11] beþ nou3t y-sent of God to þat office. Þanne it semeþ þat by her owne presumpcioun þei stieþ vp to þat office. Þan war hem þat þei come nou3t yn by anoþer wey þan by Crist, þat is þe dore. For þanne Crist demeþ hem robbers & þeeues[12], as Johannis 10° c°: 'For soþe y telle hit 3ow, he þat comeþ nou3t yn by þe dore into þe folde of scheep but styeþ up by anoþer weye, he is a robbere and a þeef'; & comynlich Crist clepeþ hym-silf þe dore. And it semeþ þat þei beþ of þilke prophetes oþer siche maner prophetes as þe prophet spekiþ of, Jeremie 22°: 'Ich sent nou3t þe[13] prophetes & þei runne[14];

Romans 10:15.

The desire for office. Friars are thieves and robbers. John 10:1.

The proper method of calling to preach, not like the prophets, see Jeremiah 23:21;

[1] pruyte synne S.
[2] on A C.
[3] left A.
[4] *om.* C.
[5] *om.* S.
[6–6] *om.* A.
[7] *om.* C.
[8] no3t ri3tful S, *and crossed out between* primate *and* of.
[9] *om.* Ch.
[10] *om.* S.
[11] *om.* C.
[12] þueues Ch.
[13] *om.* C.
[14] rounde A Ch: rownede C.

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y spake nou3t to hem & þei *pro*pheciede'; & anoon[1] hit folewiþ: 'Lo! ich speke[2] to þe *pro*phetes, quoþ[3] oure Lord, þat steleþ[4] my wordes eue*r*eche of his nei3bore'. 3if þei beþ nou3t sende of Crist þei steleþ þe wordes of[5] curato*urs* & of her sou*er*eynes, þe whiche & noon oþ*er*e haueþ þe office of p*r*echyng, by þe comyn lawe, as it is seide. also 23:30.

Also þat þe holdynge of þese p*ri*uyleges infecteþ þe holders, hit is p*r*eued. For hit is nou3t y-hote to freres noþ*er* hit longeþ to her *pro*fessiou*n* noþ*er* to her reule forto vse þe office of p*r*echyng[6]. Þa*n*ne it semeþ þat þei vseþ wilfullich to p*r*eche openlich among þe peple oþer to here schriftes, & þei wolleþ fonge siche an offyce; þa*n*ne it semeþ þat þei synneþ dedlich. First, for þei knoweþ oþ*er* schuld knowe þat þese p*ri*uyleges were p*r*ocured by mene of þe dedliche sy*n*nes þat beþ rehersed toforhond for þe vse of þese pryuyleges, & þei vseþ[7] hem also. Þa*n*ne þei assenteþ & alowiþ þe p*r*ocuryng[8], as 3if a man eteþ of robberie & of þefþe[9] þat is y-gete for his vse in his etynge, he aloweþ þe robberie & þeefþe[9]. And he þat haþ a benefice to his p*r*ofit y-p*r*ocured by symonye, & comyneþ[10] wiþ þe curato*ur* in þe sy*n*ne of symonie & aloweþ þat doyng, he is vnder þe apostels decre, ad Rom*a*nos 3° c°: 'þei[11] þat doþ siche dedes beþ * worþi þe deþ. & nou3t onlich þei þat so dooþ, but also þei þat assenteþ to hem þat doþ siche dedes', as y seide toforhand. And þei mowe nou3t be excused by leue oþ*er* gr*a*unt of þe pope as hit semeþ, for þe pope in his gr*a*unt setteþ nou3t þe obstau*n*ce[12] þat he schuld semelich sett in þis man*er*. We gr*a*unteþ þis to freres nou3twiþstondinge her wicked conscience; but it semeþ þat hit was his entent to relesche[13] onlich þe obstau*n*ce of man*n*es lawes. As[14] 3if oon[15] haþ do manslau3t*er*,[16] oþ*er* symonye, oþ*er* haþ a we*m*me[17] and defaute[17] in his body þat is vnknowe, þat makeþ hym[18] vnable to a benefice of holy

Friars sin deadly in taking over the office for preaching and hearing shrifts.

A man who has a benefice to his profit is under the Apostles' decree, Fol. 16 b Romans 1:32 and 2:3.

They are not even excused by the grant of the pope.

[1] anon ri3t C.
[2] *om.* S.
[3] seide S.
[4] stele A C Ch S.
[5] of þe S.
[6] preching by þe comon lawe C.
[7] vsen C.
[8] wickede procurynge S.
[9] þefte A C: þeuf þe Ch.
[10] communeþ C: comneþ Ch: comuneþ S.
[11] *om.* C.
[12] substance, sub *crossed out and* ob *in margin* A.
[13] relese A C Ch S.
[14] And C. [15] he C.
[16] manslau3t Ch S.
[17–17] *om.* S. [18] hem Ch.

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chirche, & haþ [1]*graunt* & leue[1] of þe pope to holde many benefices wiþ cure; ȝett her-fore may he[2] no benefice of holy chirche holde lawfulliche noþer riȝtfulliche; but þat lawe þat þe pope dispenseþ wiþ letteþ hym nouȝt, & ȝitt nouȝt wiþstondinge þat dispensacioun, he synneþ dedliche ȝif he holdiþ eny benefice of holy chirche. So it is in oure *pur*pos as it semeþ me. For þouȝ[3] þe pope dispense wiþ freres touchyng þe lawe, by þe whiche lawe siche riȝt & doyng is dewe[4] to curato*urs*, ȝett mowe nouȝt þe[5] freres vse þese wiþ fulle riȝt & lawe; but þe lawe þat þe pope dispenseþ wiþ letteþ hem nouȝt, [6]& it semeþ þat þei mowe nouȝt[6] vse þese *pri*uyleges wiþ-out dedlich synnes.

The pope may dispense with certain laws, yet the friar sins deadly if he uses these privileges.

Þan*n*e it semeþ þat þei beþ alwey in dedlich synnes by alowa nce & holdyng of þese *pri*uyleges, as[7] þouȝ þei *pro*curede hem o*þer* were assenti*n*g to þe *pro*curyng. And þese[8] freres telliþ þat freres myȝt & mowe be repentaunt & do penau*n*ce for þat synne, & so it may nouȝt be concluded þat so*m*me ne[9] beþ ȝett in sy*n*ne. Þe cont*ra*rie schal be seide; for riȝt as in þefþe[10] & stalþe[11] may no man be ve*r*rey repentaunt & do ve*r*rey penaunce, but he[12] quyte[13] aȝen þat he haþ y-stole; noþ*er* in oure *pur*pos. But þei wole saye þat now touchyng þe curato*urs*, þei haueþ riȝtfullich þese *pri*uyleges & *pro*fites þat comeþ þerof, for hit is y-*grau*nted[14] þe[15] same; & so to restore he*m* aȝen[16] beþ þei nouȝt y-holde. Here þe cont*ra*rie schal be seide; for nouȝtwiþstonding þe titel þat is y-gete by þe pope, þei beþ y-holde to make restitucio*un* in so*m*me man*er* wise, for þe sy*n*ne of þe allowyng & assenting[17] þat is touched toforhond, in *grau*ntyng[17] of þe *pri*uyleges, þat[18] sy*n*ne was nouȝt relesched[19], noþ*er* myȝt be relesched[19] to þese[20] freres but þei were[21] ve*r*rey repentau*n*t

Friars may not repent of this sin, unless they make restitution.

[1–1] leue and graunt A S.
[2] be Ch.
[3] þei A C S: þeyz Ch.
[4] þewe Ch S.
[5] *om.* A C.
[6–6] *om.* C.
[7] And C.
[8] þe C.
[9] *om.* A C Ch S.
[10] þefte A: þe fecte C: þeufþe Ch: þe fre S.
[11] steleþe A.
[12] be Ch: he be S.
[13] aquyte C.
[14] y-graunted hem by S.
[15] pope þat haþ ful power to graunte hem þe S.
[16] aȝe Ch S.
[17–17] *om.* C.
[18] þanne C.
[19] relesed A C Ch S.
[20] þeus Ch.
[21] *om.* C.

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& contrite . & as longe tyme as þis synne leueþ & dwelliþ in freres hit semeþ þat þei mowe nouȝt be verrey repentaunt, but þei restore aȝen [1] to persoons as forþ as þei mowe, þat þei haueþ wiþdrawe . & so it semeþ þat while freres restoreþ nouȝt aȝen [1] þese [2] riȝtes, þei mowe nouȝt be verrey repentaunt [3], for þei beþ nouȝt dewe [4] to þe [5] freres by mannes lawe, þouȝ þei haue graunt of þe pope. Who is verrey repentaunt of wrongful [6] & euel getyng [6] of eny þinge, & is proude & glad of þe holdyng? No man as hit semeþ for to deme skilfullich. Þanne freres þat presumptuouslich holdeþ & kepeþ þese priuyleges beþ y-wrapped & y-snarled in þe forseide dedlich synnes.

The sin of friars in holding what is not theirs.

They are wrapped and snarled in deadly sins.

Also þis licence & leue in a caas þat is y-liche, Seynt Bernard tretiþ in þe secunde pistle to Adam þe monk . þe caas is þat þis monk after his professioun þat he made to dwelle þere alwey to his lyues ende, as me seiþ, went with his abbot to anoþer abbay & dwellide þere by heeste & leue of his abbot, & þerto he axide [7] & hadde leue of þe pope; but Seynt Bernard repreueþ hym & fondeþ to preue by many * maner resone [8], þat wiþ-oute synne he myȝt nouȝt so do by heeste of his abbot noþer by leue of þe pope whos leue he schuld nouȝt axe. Þat forto preue, he takiþ oon principle þat Aristotle discreueþ & setteþ, 3° *ethicorum, þat is þis: þat somme dedes beþ so good þat þei mowe nouȝt be euel y-do; & somme beþ so euel [9] þat [10] þei mowe nouȝt be wel y-do [11], & somme beþ mene bitwene þese tweyne & mowe be wel y-do, & mowe also be euel y-do. Of þe first he setteþ ensaumple: charite, feiþ,[12] & hope. Of þe secunde: þeefþe, manslauȝt, incest, & siche maner dedes. Of þe þridde: redyng, fastyng, &, somme maner dedes, þat may be do wel oþer euel as þe condiciouns beþ þat longeþ þerto. Hit semeþ þat onlich in siche dedes obedience haþ place. He supposeþ þis & axeþ in what degre was þat dede, in þe [13] whiche dede he dide þe [14] abbotes heeste, & seiþ þat hit was in þe secunde

Fol. 17 a

To prove this the principle of Aristotle is used. The three kinds of deedes.

[1] aȝe Ch S.
[2] þeus Ch.
[3] repentaunt and contrite C.
[4] þewe Ch S.
[5] *om.* A C.
[6–6] *om.* C, *but* mater *is written.*
[7] axed leue C.
[8] resons A C.
[9] euel I doo C.
[10] þat þat A.
[11] *om.* C.
[12] fey A C Ch S.
[13] *om.* A.
[14] his A C Ch S.

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degre of euel dedes þat myȝt nouȝt be wel y-do; & concludeþ þerof as hym[1] semeþ þat it myȝt nouȝt be wel y-do. & þerfore in þat dede he schulde nouȝt do his abbotes heste, but he schuld wiþstonde him pleynliche in sich a dede þat is euel of hit-self, & so he schuld holde his avowe & wiþstonde his abbot in sich a maner dede. Also he settiþ for a reule, þat ȝif tweyne hoteþ contrarie dedes, his heeste[2] schal be do þat is more worþi; & God hoteþ þat avowe & obedience to hym schuld be y-holde. In this case the friar sinned because he obeyed his abbot rather than God. Þanne ȝif his abbot þat is nouȝt so worþi as God, hoteþ to breke þe avowe[3], he schal be obedient to God & nouȝt to[4] do his abbotes heeste. Also Seynt Bernard aleiþ þat oure Lord seiþ. St. Bernard to prove this uses, Matthew 18:6, 7. Mathei 18° c°.: 'Who þat sclaundriþ oon of þese litel þat trowiþ in me, hit is spedeful to him þat a grete stoon be hongide aboute his nek, &[5] be adreynt in þe depnesse of þe see. Wo þe worlde wiþ sclaundre; hit is nedeful þat sclaundre come, but wo þat man by whom sclaundre comeþ.' And herto Bernard seiþ þat Adam þe monke in forsaking his abbay, nouȝt onlich sclaundred oon of Cristes smalle children, but many & fale. Hereby as him semeþ, he concludeþ [6]þat þis[7] monke[6] fil into þat wo þat oure Lord spake of, for he dide his abbotes heeste in þat cause[8]. & wolde God þat freres wolde take hede in what maner in al holy chirche þei sclaundreþ fewe & many, smale & grete, by þe mysvse of þese priuyleges; & þerby þei myȝt holilich conclude[9] to-for God what þei beþ worþi. And þere Seynt Bernard telleþ many oþere þingis. And touching þe pope þat graunteþ leue, he seiþ: 'Who denyeþ þat hit is euel to assente to euel? Þat wolde y nouȝt trowe þat þe pope dide but he were begiled wiþ lesyng[10] oþer ouercome wiþ gredynesse.' Friars slander few and many, small and great, by the misuse of privileges. Friars should take heed against this warning by St. Bernard. Þis is Seynt Bernardes sentence. Þese freres take[11] þei hede, whether[12] hit be nouȝt aȝenus þe licence & leue þat[13] was I-purchased for Adam þe monk; and conclude[14] þei wiþ Seynt Bernard þat þe synne of procuryng of leue wiþ[15] vnbuxumnesse

[1] hit A C.
[2] hestes C.
[3] vow C: avowȝ S.
[4] *om.* A C Ch S.
[5] & he A C Ch S.
[6–6] *om.* C.
[7] þe A.
[8] case Ch: caas S.
[9] miȝte conclude holyliche S.
[10] lesynges S.
[11] takeþ C.
[12] where C S.
[13] þat hey habbeþ y-purchased as it is aȝenste þe sentence & leue þat S.
[14] concluded C.
[15] wiþ þe A C.

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& breking of her owne reule, bryngeþ to hem euel quytyng[1], as Seint Bernard seiþ in þe same maner doyng of Adam þe monk. Also euerech frere whanne he prechiþ oþer hereþ schriftes myȝt leue hit, ȝif he wolde, wiþ-oute eny synne.

Þanne it semeþ þat he[2] takiþ þat office wilfullich aȝenus his owne professioun. And so as it is schewide toforhond þat in þe procuring of priuyleges, þe procuratours synnede dedlich aȝenus alle Goddes heestes[3] þat þere[4] beþ rehersed; so þis[5] synneþ[6] dedlich aȝenus þe same heestes of God, for he vseþ wilfulliche þe leue þat is wickedlich y-procured, and is[7] infect wiþ þe synne of iniurie & of wrong,* & vnobedience & vnbuxumnesse, of couetise, & of pride; for hit semeþ þat he vsiþ þe leue þat is y-procured for þe same cause, for þe whiche cause hit was y-procured, þat is for riches & worschip[8][9]. Þe þridde cause is nouȝt of þe[10] outrage of þis licence & leue, þouȝ[11] þere be þerof comyn diffamacioun among lewed & lered[12].

The deadly sins when Friars disobey God, and procure privileges for riches.

Fol. 17 b

Of þis mater of priuyleges & of þe mysvse þerof, & how þei beþ contrarie to þe professioun of freres touchyng þe twey conclusiouns þat ich haue y-schewide, þis is ynowȝ[13], at þis tyme. Many oþere þinges y schal telle herto ȝif hit nedeþ. And y drede nouȝt þouȝ[14] ich wolde nomore þerof. Oþere men wole[15] not leue touchyng al þis þat ich haue y-axed & y-schewide, & 'holy fader demeþ nouȝt by þe face, but riȝtful dome ȝe deeme'. By ȝoure owne holynesse, oþer by oþere þat beþ my lordes þe cardynals, & honging þe ple suspendeþ in alle poyntes þe vse of þe priuyleges, þat touchiþ þe mater þat ich haue y-touched & declareþ[16] þe forseide constitucioun, ȝif it semeþ riȝtful.

This is enough at this time touching the two conclusions.

Þat oure Lord Ihesus in his conuersacioun of manhed, alwey was pore, nouȝt for he wolde oþer louede pouert by cause of hit silf; but for touching þe[17] pouert þat oure Lord suffred, myn[18] aduersaries & ich beþ nouȝt contrarie, but touchyng þat y

The first conclusion: that Jesus did not love poverty because of itself.

[1] coueytynge S.
[2] þei *in* H *and crossed out.*
[3] heste C.
[4] *om.* C.
[5] þese A C Ch S.
[6] synweþ Ch.
[7] þis S.
[8] & for C.
[9] pouert C.
[10] here S.
[11] þey S.
[12] lered & lewed C S.
[13] I-now for me S.
[14] þei A C: þeyȝ Ch S.
[15] wolde C S.
[16] declared C.
[17] of A C.
[18] mynd C: my S.

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seide also þat he loued noȝt pouert for hit-silf. Þis particle y preue first, for it is wrecchednesse to be pore & no man loueþ wrecchidnesse for hit-silf; þanne no man loueþ pouert for hit[1] silf. Also by Aristotles loore, *primo ethicorum*, noþinge is worþi to be loued for hit-silf, but what schuld be take & y-loued, þouȝ[2] al profit were awey þat longeþ þerto. Sich is noutȝ þouert þouȝ[3] men deserue mede by þe suffraunce of pouert. ȝit ȝif no profit schuld[4] come by suffraunce of pouert, pouert[5] schuld noutȝ be loued & y-holde of God, noþer of man, noþer of þe deuel of helle; þanne Crist loued neuer pouert for hit-silf aloon. Also noon effect of synne is worþi to be loued for hit-silf aloon þouȝ hit be loued in herte þat is infect[6]; but pouert is þe effect of synne; þanne pouert is noutȝ worþi to be loued for hit-silf aloon. Þat pouert is þe effect of synne, y preue hit, for ȝif oure forme fader & moder hadde neuer y-synned[7], schuld neuer haue[8] be pore man of oure kynde. Also no priuacioun of good hauyng is worþi to be loued for hit-silf aloon. And by Aristotles reule *in topicis*[9], purpos is seide of purpos & þe contrarie of þe contrarie. So þat ȝif þe hauyng is good þe priuacioun is euel; and ȝif þe priuacioun is good þe hauyng is euel. But riches is good hauyng & worþi to be loued[10] of God, for he is richest[11] of alle, & pouert is contrarie & ys priuacioun of riches[12]; þanne pouert is euel; þanne pouert is noȝt worþi to be loued for hit-silf aloon. For to abide longe about þe[13] preuyng[14] herof, hit semeþ me[13] to childlich a dede, for y trowe þat no man seiþ þe contrarie but hit be for defaute[15] of philosophie oþer of logik.

No man loves wretchedness for itself.

The effect of sin is not worthy to be loved of itself.

Poverty is the effect of sin.

This is proved thus in the case of our forefathers.

No privation of good having is worthy to be loved of itself alone.

Riches is good having and worthy to be loved of God for he is rich in all things.

Poverty is evil.

Þe secunde conclucioun was þis: oure Lord Ihesus neuer beggide wilfullich. Þis conclucioun y preued first in þis maner. ȝif he had wilfullich beggide he had y-do azenus Goddes heeste þat seiþ: 'Þou schalt noutȝ coueite þi[16] neiȝbores hous, noþer desire[17] his

The second conclusion: Our Lord never begged wilfully.

[1] hym C.
[2] þei A C: þeiȝ Ch S.
[3] þeiȝ A Ch: þei C.
[4] schal C.
[5] *om.* C.
[6] in effecte C.
[7] y-synwed Ch.
[8] *om.* A C Ch S.
[9] thopicis A C Ch S.
[10] loved for it self C.
[11] richesse C: rychchest Ch.
[12] richesses S.
[13] *om.* C.
[14] reprefynge C.
[15] diffauȝte A: þe defaute C.
[16] þyn A C Ch.
[17] *after* desire *the words* to serde *are written and crossed out* C.

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wif, noþer his seruaunt man, noþer womman, noþer[1] his oxe, noþer his asse, noþer any þyng þat is his.' Exodi 20° c°. But he þat beggeþ wilfulliche axeþ & he desireþ his neiȝbores þynge. Þanne he þat beggeþ wilfullich doþ aȝenus Goddes heeste, & no man dar[2] telle þat Crist dide aȝenus Goddes heeste. Also ȝif Crist had y-beggide wilfullich, he had y-broke anoþer heeste of God þat seiþ: * 'In al wise a nedy man & begger schal nouȝt be among ȝow.' Deuteronomii 19° c°. For he þat suffreþ oþere men to be vnarmed while he myȝt helpe hem of armure, brekiþ þe kynges lawe[3] þat hoteþ, þat in þe cite schuld be[4] no man vnarmed; & nouȝt onliche he brekiþ þat lawe, but also he þat myȝt abide y-armed & þroweþ his armure into a depe ryuer. Also þis[5] prest[6] þat makiþ hym-silf wilfulliche vnmyȝty & vnable to offre ȝiftes & sacrifices for synnes,[7] brekiþ þe lawe of hooly chirche þat hoteþ þat he schuld offre ȝiftes & sacrifice[8] for synnes[7]. I trowe þat no man dar[9] say of oure Saueour þat he brake Goddes heeste. Þanne he neuer beggide wilfulliche noþer made hym silf wilful beggere, & no man may feyne þat the forseide heeste is cerymonial to be vsed among þe[10] Jewes aloone. For hit is verrey moral longynge to good þewes & harder[11] y-chargide[12] in þe newe[13] þanne in þe olde lawe; for[14] Luce xi°, oure Saueour hoteþ & seiþ: 'What is ouer þat nediþ ȝeue almes dede, & lo! alle þinges beþ clene.' Þere hit is y-hote, þat[15] leueþ ouer þat nediþ schuld[16] be y-ȝeue[16]; for no begger schulde be amonge þe peple noþer eny man in al wise nedy schuld be amonge þe peple.

And who þat[17] holdeþ nouȝt þis heeste is[18] manassed with peyne withoute ende, Mathei 25° c°: 'In þis manere ich was an-hungred & ȝe ȝaf me nouȝt to ete,' & so forth: 'Goþ acursed into þe fuyre wiþ-outen ende þat is ordeyned to þe deuel & to his angels.' And so it is cleere þat Cristen men

He would have discharged God's command, Exodus 20:17.

He that begs wilfully desires his neighbour's things, which is against God's commands.

Fol. 18 a

Christ never disobeyed God's command.

Another command of God. Deut. 15:11.

The king's law.

The law of holy Church in regard to gifts and sacrifices.

Christ's command as to alms. Luke 11:41.

No beggar should be among the people, nor needy men.

Matt. 25:35, 41.

Christian men are to

[1] *om.* C.
[2] þar Ch.
[3] lawes C.
[4] *om.* A C.
[5] þes A Ch.
[6] preostes C.
[7–7] *om.* C.
[8] sacrefices A S.
[9] þar Ch.
[10] *om.* A C.
[11] harder I-have C.
[12] y charged & y hote S.
[13] newe lawe A: lawe newe C.
[14] *om.* C.
[15] þat þat S.
[16–16] bey ȝeue A.
[17] so C.
[18] ys ys Ch.

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suffer no beggars among them.

beþ harder y-bounde to suffre no beggers among hem, þan men vnder þe[1] olde lawe. Also *Crist* was suget to þe Emperours lawe, for he payed *tri*bute to þe Emperour, Mathei 17° c°: 'Whanne[2] þei come[3] to Cafarnaun[4], þei þat feng þe *tri*bute come to Petre & seide: "3oure mayster haþ nou3t y-payed *tri*bute": "no," quoþ[5] Petre. And whanne þei come into þe[6] hous Ihesus spake raþer þan he, & seide: "Symon what semeþ þee, of whom fongeþ kynges tribute, of her owne children oþer of alyens?" "Of alyens,[7]" quoþ[5] Petre. "Þanne þe children beþ fre," quoþ Ihesus, "þat we sclaundre hem nou3t. Go to þe see & þrowe in[7] an hook, & þe first fisch þat comeþ vp take hym & open his mouþe, & þou schalt fynde a stater, a þinge þat weyeþ half[8] an vnce; take þou þat & 3eue hit hem for me & for þee".' Þis is y-write þere. Also he demed þat me schuld paye tribute[9] to þe Emperour, for men axide of hym[10] & seyde: 'Ys hit lawful to 3eue tribute to[11] þe emperour[11] oþer no?' & schewide a peny þat had þe printe of þe Emperours ymage & of his name; & Ihesus answerde hem & seide: 'Payeþ to þemperour what is his, & to God payeþ[12] what is his.' Mathei 22° c°. & it were nou3t[13] semeliche þat he wolde deme þat lawe to be holden as comyn lawe, 3if he wolde nou3t be vnder þat lawe; þanne he wolde be suget to þat lawe as he was suget to Joseph þe carpenter. Myche more as it semeþ he wolde be suget to þe Emperours lawe, þat was lawe of kynde, by þe which lawe no my3ty beggers schulde dwelle in citees; miche more noon[14] wilful beggers schulde dwelle[15] in citees.

Christ was subject to the Emperor's law, for he paid tribute. Matt. 17:24–7.

He also commanded to pay tribute to the Emperor. Matt. 22:17–21.

Christ was subject to the law, as he was subject to his father Joseph.

By the Emperor's law no beggar should be in the city.

Also 3if *Crist* had wilfullich y-begged, he had y-broke þe lawe of þe nei3bore wiþ his beggyng; for he þat loueþ his nei3bore *ver*reilich as *him*-silf, greueþ *him* nou3t vnskilfullich, as he wolde nou3t þat[16] his nei3bore greued hym vnskilfullich *. And he þat axeþ of his nei3bore vnskilfullich his nei3bores goode wiþ-out nede, greueþ his nei3bore vnskilfullich; þanne *Crist*

If Christ had begged wilfully he had broken the law of his neighbour. This he never did.

Fol. 18 b

[1] ye C.
[2] *om.* C.
[3] comen A C Ch.
[4] Capharnaun A C Ch S.
[5] quod C: seyde S.
[6] *om.* Ch S.
[7] *om.* C.
[8] al A C: hal Ch.
[9] *om.* C.
[10] hem C.
[11–11] þamperour S.
[12] *om.* A C S.
[13] nouþe C.
[14] no A C S.
[15] *om.* Ch.
[16] *om.* C.

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dide so neuer. Also Holy Writ seiþ þat þe pore schal be hated of his neiȝbore. *Prouerbiorum* 14° c°; miche more a begger schal be hated of his neiȝbore. Þanne ȝif *Crist* had wilfullich [1] y-begged, he had made wilfullich [1] hi*m*-silf y-hated [2] of his neiȝbores; þat semeþ nouȝt skilful but ȝif þere were anoþer skilful cause.

The poor shall be hated of his neighbour. Proverbs 14:20.

Also ȝif *Crist* had wilfullich y-begged, he had y-sclaundred [3] & diffamed [4] his owne gospel, þat he confermed by myraclis; for hit semeth þat þei þat herde þis [5] loore & syȝ [6] his myracles, myȝte skilfullich seye þat þei were iapes & wicchecrafte raþer þan *ver*rey myraclis, for skilfullich eu*er*eche man schal raþer help hym-silf þan anoþer. Þanne how schuld þis [7] feede foure þousand men by myracle & may nouȝt fynde hym silf mete [8], as somtyme whan he heng on þe cros þei scornede hym & seide: 'Oþere men he haþ saued, hym-silf he may nouȝt saue. ȝif he is kyng of Isra*el*, come he now doun of þe cros & we trowiþ hym.' Mathei 29° c°. Al o ȝif *Crist* had wilfullich y-begged he hadde y-broke his owne lawe, þat echeþ [9] þe lawe & þe pr*o*phetes. 'Al þat ȝe wolleþ [10] þat men do to you do ȝe to hem. Þis is þe lawe and þe pr*o*phetes.' Mathei 6° c°. & no man wolde þat oþere men greuede hym beggyng of hym wilfullich wiþout nede; but so doþ eu*er*ech begger þat beggeþ wilfullich wiþ-out nede. Also *prima* ad Thimoth*eum* 6° c°, Paul þe apostle dampneþ her trowyng & her opiniou*n* þat trowiþ þat beggerie & gaderyng is holy myldnesse; & al þat Poul dampneþ *Crist* dampneþ by Poul, þat feng his gospel by reuelaciou*n* of *Crist*, as Poul seiþ hym-silf, ad Gal. p° c°. Þanne ȝif *Crist* beggide wilfullich he dide in his owne p*er*sone þat he dampned by Poul, & so he was cont*ra*rie to hym-silf; but it is nouȝt lawful so forto sigge. Þanne *Crist* neuer [11] beggide [12] wilfullich. [13] Also ȝif *Crist* beggide wilfullich [13] he made a lesyng in dede; for as he þat spekiþ aȝen*us* þe soþe þat he knowiþ makeþ a lesyng [14] in dede;

If Christ begged wilfully he then slandered his own Gospel, that he confirmed by miracles. This is shown in feeding of the five thousand. Also in his death on the cross. Matt. 27:42.

Matt. 7:12.

Paul condemns begging. 1 Tim. 6:10, 11. Christ condemns the same thing through Paul. Gal. 1:1. Then Christ was contrary to himself, which is not lawful to say.

[1–1] *om.* C.
[2] wilfulliche Ihated A C Ch S.
[3] desclaunderd S.
[4] Ifamed C.
[5] hys Ch.
[6] sey A: sye Ch: siȝe S.
[7] þes Ch S.
[8] a melis mete C.
[9] he clepeþ S.
[10] wole C.
[11] *om.* S.
[12] beggide neuer S.
[13–13] *om.* C.
[14] *om.* C: in speche so he þat doþ aȝenste þe soþe he knoweþ, makeþ a lesynge S.

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If Christ begged wilfully he made a lie indeed, but God forbid it. If Christ begged wilfully he was a very hypocrite.

[1] but he þat beggeþ wilfullich wiþ-out nede & seiþ þat he is a begg*er* & neody he [2] makiþ a lesyng in [3] dede [1]; þanne 3if C*rist* beggide wilfullich he made a lesyng in dede, but God hit [4] forbede.

Also 3if C*rist* beggide wilfullich he was a verrey ypocryte, semy*ng* a begger, & was no [5] v*er*rey begger, for C*rist* was neu*er* a v*er*rey begger, for no man þat may haue y-now3 at his [6] wille, is a v*er*rey begger, þou3 [7] he begge. But he is a v*er*rey fayto*ur*, & he þat beggeþ wilfullich may haue y-now3 at hys [6] wille; for elles he beggeþ nou3t wilfullich, but he is dryue to [8] by nede, and C*rist* was neu*er* ypocrite. Þanne C*rist* beggide neu*er* wilfullich, noþ*er* as a fayto*ur*. Also 3if C*rist* beggide wilfullich, why wolde Petre þe apostle blame & rep*reue* þe moder of his owne disciple Seynt Clement, for he found hir among beggers, & wende þat heo [9] had be strong y-now3 to worche w*ith* hir hondes, as hit is y-write in Seynt Clementes lif? & Petre folewide C*rist* in þat doyng. Þanne þei þat seyn [10] þat C*rist* beggide, moste assoyle þis questiou*n*, but it semeþ þat þei mowe nou3t; þanne C*rist* neu*er* beggide wilfullich.

Christ was never a hypocrite.

If Christ begged wilfully, then Clement, Peter's successor, erred when he tried to crush out beggary in his church. There was no needy man among the apostles.

Also 3if C*rist* was a wilful begger, Clem*ent* [11] þat was [11] Peteres success*our* erred gretelich, for he *tra*uailed wiþ al his my3t for no * beggerie schuld be among hem þat were turned to þe feiþ of holy chirche, & is specialiche y-pr*ey*sed of holy chirche for þat dede, þou3 þese oþ*er* seye þat beggerie schuld make hem haue þe more p*er*fecciou*n*. Also 3if C*rist* beggide wilfullich & 3if beggerie p*er*teyneþ to p*ar*fitnesse [12] of lif [12], why bade [13] Clement be obedient & buxu*m* to þe lore [14] & ensau*m*ples of þe apostlis, & among þe apostles & disciples was no man nedy? Þei [15] þat telliþ þat C*rist* so beggide, most assoile þis [16] questiou*n*; but hit

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[1–1] *om.* A.
[2] & C Ch: *om.* S.
[3] in speche, so he þat beggeþ wilfulliche wiþoute ony nede seiþ indede þat a is a beggere & nedy & makeþ a lesynge S.
[4] *om.* C S.
[5] non C.
[6] is S.
[7] þoy3 Ch: þey S.
[8] þerto C.
[9] sche A C: he Ch: hue S.
[10] seiþ A: seide C: sygge þ Ch: seggeþ S.
[11–11] *om.* S.
[12–12] *om.* C.
[13] het A C Ch S.
[14] lere S.
[15] *om.* C.
[16] þes Ch.

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wole nouȝt be. & Clement so bade[1] in þe pistle þat was sent to James Bischop of Jer*usalem*. And þat pistle is sett in decrees *12o dilectissimis*. Also ȝif *Crist* þat was & is heiȝeste *preste* beggide wilfulliche, holy chirche erred witynglich wha*nne* hit[2] ordeyned, þat no man schuld fonge holy ordre wiþout suffisau*nt* titel of liflode, ȝif *Crist* hed of holy chirche tauȝte to begge by[3] his owne ensau*m*ple. Also ȝif Crist beggide wilfullich he sclaundred þe ordr*e* of clergi, for holy lawes telliþ þat a bischop oþ*er* a clerk þat beggeþ doþ dispite to þe ordre of clergie.

If Christ begged wilfully, then the Church erred when it ordained that no man should take holy orders without sufficient title of livelihood. He also slandered the order of clergy.

Also ȝif *Crist* beggide wilfullich, he made[4] hym-silf suspect of sy*nne* for he made for[5] hym-silf a schame[6]; for wilful beggerie is nouȝt meedeful for[7] oþ*er* þing þan for schame; for[8] þe begg*er* haþ but schame[9], for hit is a lowe[10] dede and greuous by cause of kyndelich schame þ*at* longeþ þ*er*to. Also in a p*ar*fit studious man falleþ no schame as Aristotle seiþ *in* 4o *Ethicorum in fine*. Þanne in *Crist* was no schame, þanne *Crist* neu*er*[11] wilfullich beggide[11].

He made himself a shame.

Also ȝif *Crist* beggide wilfullich, wilful begginge p*er*teyneþ to p*ar*fitnesse of lif. Þanne he ȝaf vncouenablich þe olde lawe & ordeyned þ*at* pr*e*stes þ*at* schulde be most p*ar*fite of lif, schulde haue possessiou*n*s & teþingis, ȝif hit were more[12] p*ar*fit lif forto begge. Also al þe worlde vnd*er* þe lawe of kynde erride, þ*at* ordeynede pr*e*stes c*er*teyn liflode of þe comyn bernes, as it is rad in þe ende of Gen*esis*, ȝif it were more meedeful forto begge. Also ȝif *Crist* beggide wilfullich, beggery p*er*teyneþ to þe p*ar*fitnesse of þe gospel, & holy chirche erride witynglich wha*nne* þei fenge dowyng of chirches, & so wiþ-drouȝ[13] þe p*ar*fitnesse of pr*e*lates of holy chirche; and þat semeþ nouȝt lawful[14] to me[14] forto[15] saye. But y not what þei wole seye, þat telleþ þe cont*r*arie.

If Christ begged wilfully, then wilful begging pertains to perfection of life. Then the law of kind erred that ordained priests a certain livelihood. Wrong to endow certain churches.

Also ȝif beggerie & begginge p*er*teyneþ so to þe p*ar*fitnesse of *Crist*en lif, as freres beggers telliþ, hit is grete wond*er* why noþ*er* *Crist*, noþ*er* þe Holy Gost wolde vs enforme[16] þ*er*of in

Holy Writ does not give us any information on this matter.

[1] hete A C Ch S.
[2] he A C: a Ch. S.
[3] *om.* A C Ch.
[4] made fore C.
[5] *om.* S.
[6] aschamed A C Ch S.
[7] for of C.
[8] þat S.
[9] *om.* A C Ch S.
[10] lewede A C S.
[11–11] beggede wilfulliche S.
[12] *om.* C.
[13] drow C S.
[14–14] *om.* C.
[15] to C.
[16] informe Ch.

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somme place of Holy Writ. And hit may nou3t be skilfullich y-trowide; & y trowe þat from þe bygynnyng of Holy Writ to þe ende, may nou3t be y-founde oon notable worde, þat hit nys[1] seide to anoþer menyng. Also Crist bihett his disciplis & seide: 'Whanne þe spirit of soþnesse comeþ, he schal teche 3ou al soþnesse.' Johannis 16°[2] c°. Þanne oþer þe Hooly Goost forȝate his office, whanne he come to þe apostles a Witsonday, for he seide nou3t to þe apostlis of þis beggerie, for þerof is nou3t y-seen in her dedes; oþer þe[3] apostles hadde enuye to hem þat schulde come after hem, & wolde nou3t teche hem þe soþnesse þat þe Holy Gost had [4]y-tau3te hem. But no wise man wole saye þat þe Holy Gost had[4] forȝete his office, noþer þat þe apostles hadde sich enuye; þanne no sich begging noþer beggerie perteyneþ to þe soþnesse þat þe apostles tau3te. Also what schal þei seye of Melchisedech þat was þe hei3est Goddes prest & kyng of Salem? Poul praiseþ[5] hym aboue Abraham, ad Hebreos, 7° c°. How was he so grete wiþ-out wilful begginge? Why was nou3t Crist a prest by anoþer* ordre & nou3t by þe ordre of Melchisedech? For Melchisedech beggide nou3t as Crist whan he 3if his ordre. Þei þat telliþ þat Crist beggide schulde assoile þese,[6] 3if þei couþe.[7] Also þe prophete seiþ in þe Sauter: 'Y sy3e neuer þe ri3tful man forsake noþer his childe begge & seche brede.' & Crist was most ri3tful; þanne it semeþ not skilful to bere hym an hond, þat he beggide & sou3t brede a3enus[8] þe prophetes worde. Also 3if Crist beggide wilfullich, why bade[9] he nou3t hys disciplis[10] begge? But he[11] bade[9] hem þe contrarie, whanne he sent hem for to preche, and bade[9] hem ete & drynke of þe mede of her trauail, & seide in þis maner: 'In what hous 3e comeþ, dwelliþ in þe same hous, & eteþ & drynkeþ siche as is þere; þe werk man is worþi his mede.' Luce 10° c°. Also 3if Crist beggide wilfullich, he wolde neuer putte trauail before[12] beggery to gete his liflode[13], [14] he wolde haue vsed noon

Christ commands his disciples. John 16:13. Either the Holy Ghost forgot his office or the apostles had envy of those who came after.

This is impossible.

Then beggary does not pertain to the truth that the apostles taught.

The example of Melchisedec,

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Hebrews 7, who did not beg.

Christ a priest by his order.

Christ bade his disciples not to beg when he sent them to preach. Luke 10:7.

[1] is C.
[2] John 6°. A C.
[3] *om.* A C.
[4–4] *om.* C.
[5] preyseþ A C Ch S.
[6] þis A C.
[7] koude C.
[8] a3enst A C S.
[9] hete A C Ch S.
[10] disciples forto A C Ch S.
[11] *om.* C.
[12] tofore A C Ch S.
[13] for 3if he hadde þat beggerie tofore trauayle to gete his liflode S.
[14–14] *om.* C.

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of þe craftes þat men vseþ to gete wiþ her liflode.[14] Hit semeþ þat *Crist* gat his liflode somtyme wiþ trauail and wiþ his hond werk[1]; for he was nouȝt y-cleped oonlich[2] a carpenter*s* sone, but also he was openlich y-cleped a carpenter. Marci 6° c°. And for he was cleped a carpenter openlich amo*n*g þe peple, hit semeþ þat for his liflode he vsede somtyme carpenters crafte wiþ Joseph þat was cleped his fader. For his co*n*clusiou*n* is now[3] at þis tyme, til[4] þe adu*er*saries i*n*pugne hit wiþ strenger[5] resou*n*s.

Christ gat his own livelihood with the work of his hands, for he was a carpenter, Mark 6:4, and so he used the carpenters' craft.

Þe þridde[6] was þis: *Crist*[7] tauȝt neu*er*[7] wilfullich to[8] begge. Þis co*n*clusioun is schewide in þis man*er*: *Crist* bigan to do & to teche. Act*ibus* p°. c°. Þanne ȝif *Crist* tauȝt to[9] begge & beggide neu*er* hym-silf, as hit is pr*e*ued toforhond, þanne he was contr*a*rie to hym-silf as hit semeþ in worde & in dede, ȝif he tauȝt ouȝt þat he dide[10] nouȝt in dede[10]. Þat is nouȝt[11] pr*o*bable. Also *Crist* beggide neu*er* wilfullich; þanne ȝif he tauȝt to[9] begge wilfullich[12] he made hym-silf suspect of his loore as hit is pr*e*ued toforhond in þe pr*e*uying[13] of þe next co*n*clusioun.

The third conclusion: Christ never taught to beg wilfully. Acts 1:1. It is not probable that Christ taught to beg, when he did not himself.

Also he had sclaundred his owne gospel, as hit is y-pr*e*ued þ*er*e also; þanne he had y-tauȝt to[15] breke his owne riȝtful lawe[16] as hit is pr*e*ued þ*er*e[14] in þe þridde argume*n*t. Also ȝif he hadde tauȝt to[9] begge, he had tauȝt to[17] do aȝen*us* neiȝ alle þe lawes & resou*n*, þat beþ made for þe next co*n*clusiou*n*, þat pr*e*ueþ boþe þis co*n*clusiou*n* & þat co*n*clusiou*n* also. Also ȝif *Crist* tauȝte to[17] begge wilfullich, Petr*e* þat knewe[18] his loore dide vnwiselich, wha*n*ne he aleyde þe medeful dedes & spake nouȝt of þis beggery þat is so medeful, & hit were as þei telleþ, for M*a*th*ei* 19° c°, Petre spekiþ to *Crist* & seiþ: 'Lo we haue forsake alle þinges[19] & folewiþ þee'; & seiþ *n*ouȝt we haueþ y-beggide wilfullich for

He would have slandered his own gospel, and would have taught to break his own law.

Peter's statement shows that Christ did

[1] handework Ch.
[2] oonlich ycleped A C Ch S.
[3] inow A C Ch S.
[4] forto A S: for C: vort Ch.
[5] certeyn A C.
[6] þridde conclusion S.
[7–7] neuere tauȝt S.
[8] *om.* A C Ch: forto S.
[9] *om.* A C Ch S.
[10–10] *om.* C.
[11] now C.
[12] *om.* S.
[13] prechynge C.
[14–14] *om.* A.
[15] *om.* C Ch S.
[16] lowe S.
[17] *om.* A Ch S.
[18] knoweþ C.
[19] þyng A C Ch S.

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not teach begging. Matt. 19:27.

þee. & Petre seiþ nouȝt so. Hit semeþ þat þe condicioun of siche beggerie perteyneþ nouȝt to þe state of parfitnesse.

The fourth conclusion: Jesus taught that no man should beg wilfully. Christ's teaching in regard to the feast. Luke 14:13, 14. Who is not to be invited to the feast.

Þe ferþe conclusioun was þis: oure Lord Ihesus[1] tauȝte þat no man schuld wylfullich begge. For Crist tauȝt as hit is y-write, Luce 14° c°: 'Whanne þou makest a feest clepe þou þerto pore men, halt & blynde, & þou schalt be blessed, for þei haueþ nouȝt wherof þei mowe quyte hit[2] to þee[2].' Þanne pore men þat beþ[3] stalworþe[4] and stronge schulde nouȝt be cleped to þe feeste of beggers, for þei mowe quyte hit wiþ her trauail. Noþer riche feble men, noþer riche halt men, noþer riche blynde men schuld be cleped to þe feeste of beggers, for þei mowe quyte hit wiþ her catel[5]. & for Crist rekeneþ nouȝt deef, noþer dombe[6], noþer lame þat beþ nouȝt halt among hem þat schuld be cleped to þe feeste of beggers, y see nouȝt þat siche men schulde be cleped Fol. 20 a to siche a feeste; * for[7] ȝif þei beþ noþer feble, ne[8] blynde, ne halt, þei mowe go aboute[9] & begge[10] from place to place, & so may nouȝt þe feble, blynde, & halt; but freres settiþ þis exposicioun among erroure. Also[12] by his[13] sentence of dome & decree, Poul seiþ: 'Who þat wole nouȝt trauaile schal nouȝt ete'; & spekiþ of men þat haueþ no[14] liflode in oþerwise, 2. Thess. 3° c°; & telleþ þere what peyne þei schulleþ[15] haue þat wole nouȝt be obedient to his wordes, and hoteþ in þis manner: 'ȝif eny man is þat wole nouȝt be obedient to oure Lord[16] by þis pistle, takeþ hede what he is & deleþ nouȝt wiþ hym þat he be aschamed & y-schent.' & it is no drede þat þe apostle wolde nouȝt hote þat he þat wole nouȝt trauaile schuld haue so grete a peyne, but ȝif he dide a grete trespas in þat he wole[17] nouȝt trauail. & þere he spekiþ of hym[18] silf in þis maner: 'ȝe knoweþ ȝowre silf how ȝe most folewe[19] us; for we ete noon ydel brede þat we hadde of eny man, but we trauailede bisiliche & wrouȝt day &

Paul saith: 2 Thess. 3:10.

also 2 Thess. 3:14.

also 2 Thess. 3:7-10. Showing that men should work and not beg.

[1] ihesus spak & A C.
[2-2] *om.* A.
[3] þen C.
[4] stalword Ch S.
[5] trauaille C.
[6] dome Ch.
[7] vor Ch.
[8] nor C.
[9] *om.* S.
[10] a S.
[11] begged S.
[12] also as S.
[13] *om.* S.
[14] none C.
[15] schal Ch S.
[16] word A C Ch S.
[17] wolde A C.
[18] hem C.
[19] knowe C.

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nyȝt, for we wolde greue noon of ȝou alle. Nouȝt as þouȝ we hadde no power, but we wolde ȝeue ȝou ensaumple *in* vs silf how[1] ȝe schulde folowe us. For whanne we were wiþ ȝou we warnede ȝou & seide þat he þat wole nouȝt worche schal nouȝt ete.'

Þere it semeþ cleer y-nowȝ þat he wolde argue siþþe[2], þat he þat hadde power as verrey apostle to take liflode of hem þat he tauȝte goostliche, wolde nouȝt take hit of hem, but trauailed & wrouȝt bisilich day & nyȝt for his liflode, for he wolde greue noon of hem alle. Þanne mych more, þei þat haue noon sich power schulde trauayle & worche for her liflode, for þei schulde nouȝt greue oþere men wiþ begginge.

Paul worked and did not beg, and yet he had great power as an apostle.

And wold God þat þei þat puttiþ begging tofore trauail & werk, wolde take hede of Seynt Austyns book þat he made of þe werkes of monkes. Þere he tretiþ þis conclusioun neiȝ from þe bygynnyng to þe[3] ende, & fondeþ to preue þat trauail schuld be put tofore contemplacioun. His resouns ich ouerpasse at þis tyme, but y schal brynge hem forþe anoþer tyme ȝif hit nediþ. Also Holy Writ repreueþ & blameþ þe slowe[4] in þis maner: 'How longe slepest þou, þou slowe man? Þou schalt but awhile þriste[5] þyne hondes to-gidres forto reste lest þi nede come to þee as a storme of whirlewynde & beggery as a man of armes.' Prouerbiorum 6° c°; & Prouerbiorum 20° c°: 'Þe slowe man wolde nouȝt erye a wynter for cold; þanne he schal begge a[6] somer & me schal nouȝt ȝeue hym.' & Holy Writ preyseþ a strong womman þat takeþ þe spyndel wiþ hir fyngres. Prouerbiorum 26° c°. Herby it is y-preued þat me schuld nouȝt begge, & leue trauail & werk.

St. Austin's advice to those who put begging before work, which I pass over at this time.

Holy Writ blameth the slow thus: Proverbs 6: 9–11, and Proverbs 20: 4.

Holy Writ praises a strong woman. Proverbs 31: 19.

And Seynt Fraunceys in his testament seiþ in þis maner: '& ich trauailed wiþ myn hondes, & ich wole heiȝlich þat alle myn freres trauail in werkes þat longeþ to honeste, and þei þat kunneþ nouȝt schal lerne noȝt for coueitise of mede & of huyre, but for ensaumple of good werkes & dedes, & forto put awey sleuþe[7] & ydelnesse. & whanne me ȝeueþ hem nouȝt for her trauail, þan þei schul go to Goddes borde & axe almes from dore to dore.' Þis is[8] y-write þere. And in his reule he seiþ

St. Francis in his testament says on this matter: He works with his hands and desires his friars to do the same.

[1] *om.* C.
[2] seþþe A C S: suthe Ch.
[3] *om.* S.
[4] soule C: sclowe man S.
[5] þruste A Ch S: þurste C.
[6] on A C.
[7] slewþe A Ch S: slouþe C.
[8] *om.* C.

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In his rule he says: It is a great wonder, therefore, that friars go contrary to the advice of their founders. Also man is born to travail. Job 5 : 7.

in þis man*er*: 'Freres þ*at* haueþ of[1] þe 3ifte of[2] God *grace* of trauail þei schulleþ trauaile trulich & deuoutliche.' Þ*erfore* hit is grete wonder wiþ what face freres dar[3] vse wilful beggery[4] tofor*e* *trau*aile & do þe cont*rar*ie of her founders loore; & it is þe more wonder for man is y-bore to trauail, as hit is y-write. Job 9° c°. & begg*ing* is cont*rar*ie to þe lawe of þe firste ordynau*n*s. 3if þ*at* lawe were holde schulde no[5] man begge. Also here-by hit semeþ þ*at* Crist tau3t þ*at* no

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man schulde begge wilfullich; for *in* his owne p*er*sone * he wolde raþ*er* vse miraclis þan he wolde begge. For he sente Petre to þe see, for he schulde[6] take þe stat*er* þ*at*[7] he schuld[6] fynde in þe fisches mouþe, & paye hit to hem þ*at* gadride tribute for hym-silf & for Petre. & 3et in þ*at* caas so worschipful a man as he was mi3t ly3tlich haue[8] y-gete a stat*er* 3if he wolde haue[8] beggide. Also o þ*er*e dedes *preu*eþ þe same, & hit semeþ þ*at* he wolde raþ*er* vse Goddes lawe þ*at* seiþ: 'Þe werkman is worþi his mede.' Luce 10° c°. & he[9] seide to his disciples: 'Þe[10] werk man is worþi his mete'; & het brynge hym þe asse þ*at* he sate vppon; & het 3acheus come doun, & seide: '3ache*us* hy3e þou fast & come doun for y mot dwelle in þyn hous to day.' & þ*er*e as he þ*at* had power he comaundide & heet hy3e faste & come doun. Also wha*n*ne he was *in* þe temple & byheld alle men aboute, wha*n*ne it was eue he went out of þe te*m*ple into Bethanye wiþ þe twelue, Marci XI c°, & wolde raþ*er* vse þ*at* ri3t þ*at*[11] he wolde begge of any men. He had toforhond p*re*ched in Bethany as þou3 he had no3t vsed þ*at* power, & wente to his frendes[12] & wolde þa*n*ne[13] raþ*er* schewe hym to hys fren es[12] þan he wolde begge of any men; & so he tau3t vs wiþ his werkes þ*at* we schuld of no man begge wiþ out nede. Also he heet his disciples wha*n*ne he sent hem forto preche & seide: 'Goþ nou3t fro*m* hous to hous.' Luce 10° c°. But hit is þe[14] comyn cours of[15] beggers forto go fro*m* hous to hous. & in anoþ*er* place Holy Writ forbediþ & seiþ: 'Be war

Christ would rather use miracles than beg. He sent Peter to the sea to get his tribute from a fish's mouth. Christ did not beg but told his disciples: Luke 10 : 7, other examples of Christ's doings rather than beg.

And so he taught us with his works that no man should beg without need. Christ told his disciples, Luke 10 : 7,

[1] *om.* A C.
[2] of þe *in margin* A : of þe C.
[3] þerre Ch.
[4] beggery oþer putte beggerye A C Ch S.
[5] *om.* A C Ch S.
[6–6] *om.* C.
[7] þe S—*a hole in parchment of* S.
[8–8] *om.* A C Ch S.
[9] *om.* C : hey S.
[10] þat þe C.
[11] þan A C Ch S.
[12–12] *om.* C.
[13] þo A Ch S.
[14] *om.* C.
[15] for C.

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þat þou be nouȝt y-herbored from hous to hous. Eccle*siastici* 29° c°. & in anoþ*er* place Holy Writt rep*reue*þ siche a begg*er* in þis man*er*: 'þe foot of a nice fool is liȝtlich in his neiȝbores hous.' Ecc*lesiastici* 21° c°. & Ecc*lesiastici* 40° c°: 'Sone be þou[1] nouȝt nedy in þi lif tyme; hit is bett*er* be ded þan nedy.[2] A[1] man þat weyteþ anoþ*er* man*nes* borde, his lif is nouȝt in þou t of liflode; he fedeþ his soule wiþ oþ*er* men mete. A wys man & wel[3] tauȝt schal kepe hym-silf in þe mouþe o a wise man & redy[4]; nede is dispised & fier[5] schal bre*nne* in his wombe.' þis[6] is y-write þ*ere*. Also for þe ȝong man schuld be p*ar*fit, C*rist* coun*sailed* hym sille al þat he had & ȝeue hit pore[7] men & come & sewe[8] hym. þ*ere* wiþ-out drede, sewyng[9] schal be take in man*er* of lyuy*ng*. And þe seconde co*n*clusiou*n* seiþ þat C*rist* neu*er* beggide wilfullich; þ*a*nne C*rist* tauȝt þe ȝong man to sewe[8] hym & be p*ar*fit wiþ out wilful begging; & so he tauȝte specialiche þat p*ar*fit men schulde nouȝt begge wilfullich. Herof hit[10] may be skilfullich co*n*cluded þat oure Lord Ih*esus* tauȝt þat no man schulde begge wilfullich.

also Eccles. 29:24. Holy Writ reproves beggars thus: Eccles. 21:22, also Eccles. 40:28–30.

Christ advises the young man who would be perfect.

Christ taught that perfect men should not beg wilfully.

þe fifþe co*n*clusiou*n* of þis mat*er* of beggerie was þis: no man may redilich & holilych wilful beggerie vppon hym take eu*er*more to holde. þis co*n*clusiou*n* folewiþ pleynlich of þe oþ*ere* co*n*clusiou*n*s þat beþ y-p*reue*d toforhond; for C*rist* & his apostlis & disciplis &[11] holy chirche & Holy Writ disp*reue*þ & rep*reue*þ sich begging & beggery. þ*a*nne[12] hit may nouȝt be take[13] rediliche & wislich in þat man*er*, þouȝ hit myȝt be take[13] in so*mme* wise forto folowe God, as Mark for good entent kitt[14] of his owne þombe, vnredilich & vnwiselich. Also he þat takeþ vppon hym beggerie, lediþ & bryngeþ hymsilf into temptaciou*n* a*genus* þe lore of þe pat*er* nost*er*, M*athei* 6° c°: 'Lord lede þou us nouȝt into temptaciou*n*.' [15] Wiþ what co*n*science may a man pra*y*e God þat he lede hym nouȝt into temptaciou*n* noþ*er* suffre hi*m* be lad into temptaciou*n*,[15] while he lediþ hym-silf wilfullich

The fifth conclusion.

This conclusion follows plainly from the preceding.

He opposes the teachings of the Paternoster Matt. 6:13.

[1] *om.* C.
[2] a nedy C.
[3] awel C.
[4] aredy C.
[5] fuyre A C Ch S.
[6] þat C.
[7] to pore C.
[8] sywe Ch.
[9] sywyng Ch.
[10] *om.* C.
[11] of A C: *om.* S.
[12] þat C.
[13–13] *om.* C.
[14] kut A C Ch S.
[15–15] noþer suffre hym be lead into temptaciou*n* C: wiþ what conscience may man praye hym be lad into temptaciou*n* S.

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Fol. 21 a

To take in hand such beggary is temptation according to Solomon.

into temptacioun? What is[1] * gretter occasioun of temptacioun þan take on honde siche beggerie? For Salomon[2] prayeþ God openlich[2] &[3] seiþ: 'ȝeue þou me noþer beggerie ne[4] riches, but onlich ȝeue þou me what nediþ to my[5] liflode, lest ich be fulfild & tempte[6] to forsake & sigge who is oure Lord, oþer be dryue for defaute & nede to stele, & forswere myn[7] [8]owne Goddes[8] name.'

Default and need driveth a man to do amys. Eccles. 27. He who takes on such beggary makes himself unfit for the priesthood.

Defaute & nede dryueþ a man liȝtlich to do amys. Þerfore, Ecclesiastici 27° c°, hit is y-write: 'For defaute & for[9] nede many men haueþ y-do amys.' He þat takeþ vppon hym sich beggerie, makeþ hym-silf vnable to þe office of prest & to ech[10] holy ordre. For by the lawe of holy chirche, no man may haue siche a state wiþout suffisaunt title of mete, & drynke, & cloþ.

He breaks God's laws, which are:

Þanne hit is nouȝt redilich but vnwiselich y-do to take on hond sich beggery. Also hit semeþ þat he þat takeþ vppon hym siche beggerie, byndeþ hym-silf to breke þe lawes of God, þat beþ rehersed & aleggide[11] for þe secunde conclusioun of Cristes beggerie. Þese lawes: 'Þou schalt nouȝt coueite þi[12] neiȝbores hous, noþer desire his wif noþer his seruaunt man noþer womman, noþer his oxe noþer his asse noþer eny good þat is his. In al wise a nedy man & begger[13] schal nouȝt be amonge ȝou. Al þat ȝe woleþ þat men do[14] to ȝou do[15] ȝe[16] to hem.' And neiȝ alle[17] resouns þat beþ made for þe raþer concluciouns preueþ also þis conclucioun. Þerfore as[18] y seide in þe sermouns of þe whiche y made of menciouⁿ in þe bygynnyng of þis proposiciouⁿ, y se nouȝt how þis opiniouⁿ of kepyng & holdyng of beggerie was brouȝt yn but hit were for defaute of kunnyng of Holy Writ; oþer me feyned þat hit schuld be like to Cristes maner of[19] lyuyng, forto gadre & haue þe more catel wiþ siche beggyng.

[1] is is C.
[2–2] *om.* A: prayeþ God, *om.* C.
[3] *om.* C.
[4] noþer C.
[5] me C.
[6] tempted A C Ch S.
[7] my A.
[8–8] goddis owne A.
[9] *om.* S.
[10] al A C Ch S.
[11] aleide A C S: alleyd Ch.
[12] þyn S.
[13] a begger C S.
[14] doþ C.
[15] doþ Ch S.
[16] ȝe þe same A C.
[17] al þe S.
[18] is C.
[19] *om.* A C Ch S.

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The sixth conclusion. Friars should not wilfully beg.

Þe sixte conclusioun of þis mater was þis: hit is nouȝt of þe rule of[1] frere menours wilful beggyng to kepe & holde. Þis concluciouⁿ may be preued by open feiþ & truþe, for Seynt Fraunceys in his testament setteþ trauail before[2] beggerie & chargeþ so alle his freres. Also[3] resouns þat beþ made in þe bygynnyng preueþ þis conclusioun, so þat þis rule be good & holy as hit is seide & preued in þe chapitre Exiit.

St. Francis put work before begging. This conclusion is proved by the above.

The seventh conclusion. 4th Pope Alexander's bull says: John the Pope says in his constitution.

Þe seuenþe conclusioun in þis mater was þis: þe ferþe pope Alisaundres bulle þat dampneþ þe libel of maistres wiþ-seiþ noon of þese forseide conclusiouns. Þat is schewide in þis maner: for þe two & twentiþe pope Joon in his constitucioun þat[4] bygynneþ, *Quia quorundam*, seiþ openlich þat þe þridde pope Nichol wiþcleped þe[5] bulle of þe ferþe pope Alisaundre touchyng alle þe articles þat his declaracioun conteyneþ. Þe þridde pope Nichol declared how streyt schuld be þe pouert of frere menours. Also pope Nichol made declaracioun of þe trauail of freres & of her prechyng in a bischops diocesy þere freres beþ wiþseide. Þanne pope Nichol fondede[6] & wiþcleped þat bulle of þe ferþe pope Alisaundre touchyng alle þe articles þat beþ conteyned þerynne. & ich haue no mynde of eny þynge conteyned in þat bulle þat wiþ-seiþ eny of þese conclusiouns.

The third Pope Nicholas declared that the friars should be poor.

Ich wolde saye myche more & argue aȝenus me-silf & assoile þe argumentes forto conferme þat ich haue seide; but ich haue y-trauaylled ȝoure holynesse y-nowȝ & þe reuerence of my lordes þe Cardynals. Þerfore ich conclude & pray mekelich & deuoutlich as y prayed in þe first þat y touched: 'Demeþ nouȝt by þe face but riȝtful doome ȝe deme.'

Explicit.

[1] of þe A C.
[2] tofore A C S.
[3] also þe S.
[4] þat he C.
[5] þat S.
[6] vndede A C S.

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PART III

METHODIUS: 'þe Bygynnyng of þe World and þe Ende of Worldes.'

Harl. 1900

Fol. 21 b (1) In þe name of Crist here bygynneþ þe book of Methodii þe bischop of þe chirche of Paterenis, & martyr of Crist, which he chargide to translate of Hebrue & Greek speche into Latyn, þat is, of þe bygynnyng of þe world & þe rewmes bitwixe, of folkis & þe ende of worldes, which þe noble man Seynt Jerom in his werkis praysed.

The creatures of the heaven and the earth, Adam and Eve.

For why it is to wite to us, moost dere breþeren, how in þe bygynnyng, God made of nouȝt heuene & erþe; & by hym alle þingis beþ made, & how he made man, & helpe like to hym, & put hem togidre in Paradise. And cleped þe names of hem Adam & Eue, whiche afterward by disseyte of þe serpent bigyled, þei beþ cast out virgyns of Paradise. In þe XXX ȝere soþly

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Add. 37049

Fol. 11 a In nomine Christi incipit liber Methodii episcopi ecclesie Paterensis martiris Christi. This tretys is drawen oute of Latyn into Ynglysche, þe whilk a holy bischop & martyr drewe oute of Hebrew & Greeke into Latyn, & it tretys of þe begynyng of þe warld & of þe endyng, & also of þinges þat has fallen & sal falle.

It is to be knawen to vs, dere breþer, how þat God in þe begynyng made heuen & erthe, & by hym al þinges ar formed, & how he made man, & a helpe lyke vn-to hym & put þaim in Paradyse. And he cald þe names of þaim Adam & Eua, þe whilk afterwarde with þe serpent gylefulnes war disceyfed, & þai beyng vergyns castyn oute of Paradys. In þe thyrty ȝere, aftyr

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Harl. 1900

after þat þei were cast out of Paradise, þei gendride Caym þe first geten, & his suster Calmanam. And afterward in þe XXXII 3ere þei gendride Abel, & his suster Delboran. In þe hundrid 3ere & þritty of þe lif of Adam, Caym slow his broþer Abel, & put hond vppon him. Soþly, in þe CCC 3ere & XXX of þe lyf of Adam, a sone is born to him Seth by name, to liknesse of hym a man geaunt & grete. Afterward þei gendride sones & dou3tres. Soþly in þe sixe hundred 3ere of þe lif of Adam, þe sones of Caym bygunne to mysuse þe wyues of her breþeren in many fornicaciouns.

Cain slew Abel.

Fornications and sins arise.

þe ei3te[1] hundrid 3ere soþly of þe life of Adam, fornicaciouns beþ ouermyche enlargide vppon erþe, & vnclennessis of þe sones of Caym. In þe IX^{c} 3ere soþly & XXX Adam is deed, & is buried in Ebron in þe first þousand of þe world. Þanne þe generaciouns of Seth beþ disioyned or departed from þe generacioun of Caym. And Seth toke his cuntrey a3enus þe eest into an hil þat was next to Paradise. And Caym dwellide & his kynrede, where he had do þe cursed slau3ter of his broþer in

Adam dies. Seth settles East of Paradise, and Cain dwells in Inde.

Add. 37049

þai war castyn oute of Paradyse þai gat Caym þe fyrst son. And in þe hondrethe & thyrty 3ere of Adam, slewe Caym his broþer Abel & put his hande vpon hym. And in þe two hundreth & thyrty 3ere of þe lyfe of Adam was borne his son Seth, lyke vnto hym. And after þai gat doghtyrs & sonnes. In þe sex hundreth 3ere of þe lyfe of Adam began þe sonnes of Caym to myshuse þe wyfes of þair breþer in gret fornycaciouns of lychery.

And in þe eght hundreth 3ere of þe lyfe of Adam war spred abrode gretly fornicaciouns & vnclennes of þe childer of Caym. In þe neyne hundreth 3ere & thyrty, Adam dyed & beryd in Ebron, in þe fyrst þowsand 3ere of þe warld. Þan was þe generaciouns, þat is þe kynredyn of Seth, * dyuyded fro þe Fol. 11 b generacioun of Caym. And Seth toke his generacioun agayns þe este in to a mownte þat is next vnto Paradyse. And Chaym dwelt þer as he slewe his broþer Abel vnlefully, þat is to say in

[1] viij appears in left margin.

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Harl. 1900

Ynde, in þe same place of Delicis[1] where raþer þilke Caym made
Fol. 21 b a cite, to which he put a name Effrem. * & þis is þe first
(2) made before þe flode.

In þe fourtiþe 3ere, soþly in þe tyme of Iareth, þe first þousand of þe world passid. In[2] þe CCC & XL° 3ere of þe[3] lif of Iareth, in þe secunde þousand of þe world, þere
The sons of Cain wax wicked and unclean. were men wickid doeris & fynderis of worst crafte of þe sones of Caym, & of al vnclennesse & filþe, þat is Obal & Tubal, þat is to wite þe sones of Lameth þe blynde, which was þe first blynde man, þat slow Caym. Þese fonden firste þe
They invent works of brass and iron, &c. werkes of bras & of iren, of gold & of silver, & of grinding; and þei firste fonde alle þe artes of musik.

And after VII° 3ere of þe lif of Iareth, in þe secunde þousand of þe world, myche malice bigan to wexe wors þan þe raþere vppon erþe, which of vs is to be dispised & not to be seide. Þanne þe sones of god coueitede þe dou3tris of men; and þe
The Lord is angered because of their great sin. Lord God is wroþe, & wiþ dolour of herte touched. He seide: 'It forþinkiþ me þat y made man; my spirit schal nat dwelle in man, for þat þat he is flesch.' After þese þingis þe sones of God beþ entred to þe dou3tris of men, and gendride of hem geauntes

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Add. 37049

Ynde, in þe same place of deliciousnes, wher he fyrst made a cyte & cald it Effrem. And þis was fyrst byggyd before Noe flodde.

In þe fourty 3ere of Jareth, in þe secunde thowsand of þe world, war wykkyd men & of ylle craft, þe fynders of þe sonnes of Chaym, & of vnclennes & filthe, þat is to say Obal, Tobal þe sonnes of Lamech, þat was blynde, þat was first blynde man, þe whilk slewe Chaym. Þir men fande þe werkes of yren & bras, & gold & syluer to be made soft. And þir men fande fyrst al þe craftes of musyk. And after seuen hundreth 3ere of þe lyfe of Jareth in þe secunde þowsand 3ere of þe warld, began wars þan þe first for to grow mykil ylle & malyce opon erth, þe whilk we lefe now on-spokyn of. Than our Lord God was

[1] Large 'I' written in red, three lines deep.

[2] 'þe' above the line; 'his' written and crossed out.

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Harl. 1900

vppon erþe; & þei beþ made most wickid vppon alle men þat dwelliden vppon erþe. And þe Lord comaundide to Noe þat he schuld make to hym a schip & he schuld ilede his wife & iij sones wiþ þe wyues of hem, whiche he reserued (*or kepte*)[1] in þe flowinge of þe flode. And þe flode is made vppon al erþe. And Noe toke of eche soule lyuynge, as wel of fowles as of beestis. And alle þingis þat were vppon erþe were kepte in þe schip. In þe VI^c^ 3ere & oon Noe is goon out of þe schip wiþ alle þingis þat were wiþ hym. And þan Noe offered sacrifice to god, & God blessid Noe & his sones.

Noah is commanded to build the ark.

In[2] þe VI^c^ 3ere & XII of þe life of Noe, in þe þrid þousand of þe worlde Noe bigan to buylde agein newe possessioun, & his sones in þe erþe; & þei cleped þilke regiouns Tamun after þe cle*pinge of þe noumbre in which þei went out of þe schip. I. viii. In þe III^c^ 3ere, soþly, in þe þridde þousand of þe world, Noe gat a sone & cleped him Ionitum.[3] In þe III^c^ 3ere & fifty after þe flode, Noe 3af þe lond Eocham[4], þat is þe eest, into þe

Noah's sons begin to rebuild the earth.

Fol. 22 a (1)

His son Ionitum takes the

Add. 37049

greued & bad Noe make a schip & bryng in his wyfe & his thre sonnes & þair wyfes, and safed fro drownyng of þe flode. And þer was made a flode opon þe erth. And þan Noe toke in to þe schip of al lyfyng þinges both of fewles & of bestes. & al þinges þer war oupon erth þay wer keypd in þe schip. In þe sex hundreth 3ere went Noe oute of þe schip with al þat war with hym. Þan made Noe offerand to God, & God blissed Noe & his childer.

In þe sext hundreth & twelft 3ere of þe lyfe of Noe, in þe thyrd þousand of þe warld, began Noe & his childer new * possession in erþe. And þai cald þos regions Tamnon after þe callyng of þe nowmer of þaim þat come oute of þe schip, þat is to say eght. In þe thre hundreth 3ere in þe thyrd þowsand of þe warld, gat Noe a son & cald hym Jonitum. In þe thre hundreth & fyfty after þe flode, gaf Noe þe lande of Etham, þat is

Fol. 12 a

[1] Bracketed thus with red ink.

[2] Large 'I' written in red, five lines deep.

[3] Lat. Ionithum.

[4] Lat. etham.

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Harl. 1900

land of Eotham at his death. lordschip of his sone Ioniti, & Noe is deed. Whanne þe dayes of hi*m* were fulfilled þe ȝeres were IX^{c} & L. Af*ter* þe deþ of Noe, þe sones of hym camen in þe iii[1] þousand of þe world & They build a tower, and God divides them. descendede into þe lond of Senaar, & þei bygu*n*ne to buyylde a toure to he*m*, þe heiȝþe of which schuld neiȝ to heue*n*. And þere God by his wraþ diuided þat þei bigu*n*nen to make, and þei beþ dispa*r*pled vppon þe face of al erþe, & þei beþ diuided vppon al þe lond. Joh*itus* soþly þe sone of Noe entride i*n*to þe lond of Eocham, þ*at* is þe eest, whe*n*n*us* þe su*n*ne spr*in*giþ, & he dwelled þ*ere*, & he toke wisdom of God; & al astronomye Noah's sons divide the earth. & sterres of heuene he fonde. Sem, þe sone of Noe, toke þe lond of Asie. Cham þe lond of Me*r*idie[2], þ*at* is þe souþe p*ar*tie vnto þe west. Japhet entride aboute þe norþe, vnto þe see of Occean. And þei beþ diuided i*n*to ech lond. Joni*tus* þe sone of Noe gat Nemproth, son of Jonitus, builds Babylon, and the sons of Cham make a man geaunt & a stronge hunter. And þilke Ne*m*proth, af*ter* þe flode, buylde a tour þ*at* is cleped Babiloyne. In þe VII^{c} ȝe*re* i*n* þe þrid þousand þe grete Babiloyne is bilde. Af*ter* þese þingis soþly, þei made to hem a kyng, þe sones of Cham, to

Add. 37049

to say þe este p*ar*te, i*n*-to gyft of his son Ioniti. And Noe dyed when he was neyne hu*n*dreth & fyfty ȝere. Af*ter* his deth i*n* þe thyrd þowsand ȝere of þe warld, his childer descendyd i*n*to þe lande of Sennaar & began þ*er* to make a tower of whos hyghnes suld towche vn-to heue*n*nes. And þ*er* dyuyded God his ire opon þai*m* þ*at* bega*n* to bygge it. And þai war spa*r*pyld opon þe face of al þe erth, & þai war dyuyded opon al erthe. Joni*tus* þe son of Noe entyrd i*n*to þe erth of Eotha*m*, þ*at* is to say þe este wher þe son spr*y*nge*s* vp, & dwelt þ*er*. And he toke wysdom of God, & he fande al astronomy & þe sterres of heuen. Sem þe son of Noe toke þe lande Asye. And Cham þe lande of þe sowthe vnto þe Weste. Joni*tus* þe son of Noe gat Nembrot a gret man & a strang hunter. And þat Nembrot af*ter* þe flode byggyd a cyte þ*at* was cald Babilonia. In þe seuent hu*n*dreth ȝere i*n* þe thyrd þowsand of þe warld was byggyd gret Babilon. And af*ter* þis þe sones of Cham made þai*m* a kyng whos name

[1] 'þrid' written in left margin. [2] Lat. meridianā.

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whom þe name was Pontib*us*[1] which helde Pontu*m*, & þer*of* he toke þe name. Afte*r*ward þe sones of Iaphet senten to Ionitu*m* me*n* and gaftis, me*n* of heliynge & buylderis, & þei camen to Ionitu*m* in Eocha*m*, & þei bilde to hi*m* a cite þat is cleped Ionita. And þere was pees bitwixe þe kyngdo*m* of Neproth & þe kyngdome of Pontibus þe sones of Cham, þat hemsilf togidre bygu*n*ne to fi3te. Wha*n*ne Ionitus herde he wrote a pistle to Ne*m*proth þat helde Babiloyne. Þis was þe writ for þe rewme of þe sones of * Iapheth here bigy*nn*eþ to do awey þe rewme of þe sones of Cham.

a king called Pontibus.

There is strife between the sons of Cham and the sons of Ionitum.

Fol. 22 a (2)

Þese stryues firste apperide betwixe rewmes & rewmes vppon erþe. Þe[2] VIII 3ere *in* þe IIII þousand of þe worlde, eue*r*more þei fau3t, eue*r*eiþe*r* *in* fi3te, & þe rewme of Cham is oue*r*come*n* a3enu*s* þe rewme of Ne*m*proth. And þe rewme of Ne*m*proth gat þe maiste*r*e vnto Hesdrem þe kyng. Hesdres soþly brent þe rewme of Cham & toke p*r*isone*r*es alle þat were dwellinge,

The kingdom of Nemproth defeats the kingdom of Cain.

Add. 37049

was Pontub*us*. Aftyrward þe so*n*nes of Japhet sent to Jonitu*m* men & craft-men of theker craft & byggers, & þai come *in* to Eotha*m* to Jonitu*m*. & þai byggyd þe*r* a cyte þat was cald Jonita. And þe*r* * was pees betwyx þe kyngdom of Nembrot & þe kyngdom of Pontubi þe so*n*nes of Cham. And fro þa*n* forth þai began for to make batell ilk one wi*th* op*er*. And when Jonitu*s* hard þis, he wrote a pystel to Nembrot þe whilk held Bobilon. & þat was written for why þe kyngdom of þe so*n*nes of Japhet began fro þine to do away þe kyngdom of þe so*n*nes of Cham.

Fol. 12 b

Her apperyd fyrst batels betwyx kyngdom & kyngdoms opon erthe. In þe eght 3ere, *in* þe fourte þowsand of þe warld, alway þai faght wi*th* manly power. And þe kyngdom of Cham was oue*r*cu*mm*en of þe kyngdom of Nembrot. And þe kyngdom of Nembrot opteyned þe p*r*incipalite vnto Esdrem kyng. Esdres byrned þe kyngdom of Cham, & put *in* thraldom al þat war

[1] Lat. Pontipius.

[2] 'þ' a large flowered letter in red, six lines deep.

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Iebuseos, Amorreos, Palestinos & Affros, þat were atte west.

Cusdrom defeats

Afterward Hesdres gat Cusdrom þe kyng. þe sones soþly of Cham gadride hem-silf to-gidre, IIIc & XX þousandes of fote men, & þei come into þe rewme þat was of Ioniti, þat þei schulde bete him doun & fiȝte wiþ þe kynge Cusdro. Cusdro herynge, lete hem aloon til þat þei passide þe flood of Tigre. Cusdro þe Kyng sent his oost wiþ olifauntis & slouȝ hem alle, & þanne rewmes beþ armed aȝenus hem-silf togidre.

the children of Cain at the Tigris river.

In [1] þe XXV ȝere in þe V þousand of þe world Sannlab [2] þe kyng descended of Eocham wiþ a grete oost, dispeplid many citees. & he passed into þe þrid rewme of men of Ynde. After þat he was turned aȝen from Ynde he come into Arabie, & he went into þe desert of Saba, in þe lond of Hismaelites, & he put þere castels or tentis [3], in þe lond of þe sones of Ismael. And þere Sannlab þe kyng ouercomen of þe Sarasyns, & many þousandis fillen & flowen. And þan þe sones of Hismael wente

Sannlab overcomes Inde and Arabia

and defeats the Saracens.

Add. 37049

dwellyng, Jebusecs, Amorreos, Palestinos & Affros, þe whilk was at þe weste. After Esdres gat Cusdron þe kyng. And þan þe childer of Cham gydyrd þaim to-geder, thre hundreth & twenty þowsand of fote men. And when Cusdro hard þis he left þaim to þai war past þe flode of Tygyr. And þan sent Cusdro his compeny agayn þaim with elyfantes, & slewe þaim al þat neuer one scapyd of þaim. And þan was þe warldes made byttyr.

In þe fyft ȝere in þe fyfe þowsand of þe warld descendyd Sannsab Kyng fro Eotham with a gret compeny, & destroyed þe pepyl of many cytes, þat is to say seuenty & eght regions of hym. And he went vnto þe thyrd kyngdom of Ynde. * And when he turned fro Ynde, he come in-to Araby & went in-to desert Sabia in þe lande of Ismael & put þer his hostes of pepyl in þe lande of þe childer of Ismael. And þer was Sannsab þe kyng ouercummen of þe Sarsyns. And þer fell þer many þowsandes & oþer fledde. And þan at fyrst went þe sonnes of

Fol. 13 a

[1] 'I': large letter three lines deep.
[2] Lat. Samsabus.
[3] 'or tentis' heavily underlined in MS.

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out firste of wildirnesse to stryue *in* batail. & þei entride into þe rewmes of folkis. Aft*er* þat þe Lord byhi3te to Ismael, þat in þe regiou*n* of his breþ*er*en he schulde ficche[1] tentis or tab*er*naclis. þe castels or tentis[2] of hem was myche multitude. And þei bigu*n*ne to fi3te a3en*us* þe eest lond & þe souþe. And þei bigu*n*ne to make citees desolate, & þei made to hem naueyes & comen into þe west regiou*n*s nei3 Rome, & þei hadde lordschipe of þe * toure in þat tyme. Wherfore þei eten þe bodies & þe flesch of camels, & þei dranke þe blode of iume*n*tis medled wiþ mylk; & þei made of hem foure p*r*incis, Oreb, 3eb, 3ebee, & Salmona. And wha*n*ne þei entriden vppon þe sones of Isr*a*el, þe Lord smote hem þ*er*e & bitoke hem into þe hondes of Gedeon Hebrei, þe sone of Jonas. þ*er*e were soþli an CXL þousand; & þ*er*e fillen þe pr*i*nces of hem, & Gedeon p*er*sued hem vnto her cuntrey, & he delyuered alle þe sones of Isr*a*el of þe s*er*uage of þe sones of Ismael. Soþly þei beþ to come ones þat þei wite

The sons of Ismael overrun the country even to Rome.

Fol. 22 b (1)

They are defeated by Gideon of the sons of Israel.

Add. 37049

Ysmael oute of wilder*n*es to feght w*i*th batels. And þai e*n*tird i*n*-to þe kyngdoms of folk aft*er* þ*a*t God beheste vnto Ysmael, þ*a*t i*n* þe region of his breþ*er* he suld fest tabernakyles; þair compenys war gret multitude. And þai began to feght agayn þe este land & þe sowth. & þai began to make cytes desolate. And þai made þaim schips, and þai come vnto þe weste Kyngdoms nere vnto Rome, & þai had lordyschip of landes þ*a*t tyme. And þai ete vnclene bodys þ*a*t is of camels & hors, & þai dranke blode of best*es* mengyd w*i*th mylk. Than made þai to þaim-selfe foure pr*i*nces, Oreb, & 3eb, & 3ebee, & Salmana. And whe*n* þai entyrd opon þe childe*r* of Israel oure Lord stroke þaim euen þ*er*, & toke þaim *in* to þe hande*s* of Gedeon Eb*er*rie, þe son of Joel. þ*er* was þ*er* a hu*n*dreth & fourty þowsand. And þe prynces fel downe þ*er*, and Gedeon p*er*sewed þaim to þair awn cu*n*tre. And God delyue*r*d þe childe*r* of Israel fro þe thraldom of þe childe*r* of Ismael. It is to cu*m* þ*a*t þai sal do

[1] Lat. figeret.

[2] 'or tentis' heavily underlined in MS.

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The sons of Ismael shall arise again, but

anoþ*er*, & make þe erþe destitute; & þei schul holde regiou*n*s of þe world wide, fro*m* risinge of þe su*n*ne vnto þe west, fro þe souþe v*n*to þe norþe, & vnto Rome; & þe 3ok of he*m* schal be heuy vppon þe nolles of folkis. And þe*re* schall not be folke eþ*er* rewme, þat may hem a3enstonde vnto þe nou*m*bre of þilke tymes. And afte*r*ward þei beþ ou*er*comen of Cri*s*ten men, & to þe regiou*n* of Romayns, þe sones of Hismael schul be vnd*er*cast. And þe rewme of Romayns schul be greet vppon alle rewmes of folkis, whan þei were to-gidre beten of þe empire of Romayns. Wheþ*er* þei regnyde not a M 3ere, vnsobre[1], & of Romayns were ou*er*comen. Men of Babiloyne regnyde IIII þousand 3ere. Men of Macedonye to*r*mentide þe rewme of me*n* of Parthie wiþ armes. Men of Scithia & of Inde made meke to he*m* me*n* of Affrik, of Spayne, of Fr*a*unce, of Ge*r*manye, of Sueme, & Britou*n*s fi3teris wiþ armes þei gaten. And now efte þe sones of Hismael schule arise of þe wildernesse, & þei schule a3enstonde þe rewme of Romayns.

shall be overcome of Christians, and shall be subject to the Roman Empire.

There is strife between the nations.

The sons of Ismael in the last six

In[2] þe laste sixe þousand of þe world, soþly, þe sones of Hismael schule*n* go out of wildernesse. And þe comynge of he*m*

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swilk ane oþ*er* lyke vn-to þis þing, & make destitute þe erthe & opteyne al erthe & oþ*er* kyngdoms fro þe rysyng of þe son vnto þe weste, & fro þe sowthe vnto þe north, & vnto Rome.

Fol. 13 b And þe 3ok * sal be greuos to al folk. And þ*er* sal be no folk or kyngdo*m* þ*at* may feght w*ith* þai*m*, to þe nowmer of þair tymes. And a*fter* þai sal be ou*er*cu*mm*en of Cristen men. And þe son*n*es of Ismael sal be subiect to þe kyngdom of Romaynes, & þe kyngdom of Rome sal be gret abowne al kyngdoms of folk, when þai er brokyn done to þe Romayne empyre. Than agayne sal ryse þe child*er* of Ysmael oute of wildernes, & w*ith*stande þe kyngdom of Romaynes, þe whilk script*ur* mak*es* me*n*cion of Australia brachia Danyel hoc preuidens[3], & þai sal gayne-say þe kyngdo*m*.

In þe laste sext þowsand 3ere of þe warld, sal þe child*er* of Ysmael go out of wild*er*nes. And þair chastyssy*n*g sal

[1] Lat. uiri hebrei.

[2] Large 'I' written in red, seven lines deep.

[3] These five words are underlined in red ink.

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schal be as chastisynge wiþout mesure & wiþout mercy. And God haþ betaken into þe hondes of hem alle rewmes of folkes, for synnes & * myscheues þat þei han wrouȝt aȝenus þe comaundmentis of God.[1] And þerfore he haþ betaken vs pollute to men of barbarie. Cristen men soþly doþ many vnleueful þingis, for þei defouliþ hem silf wiþ þat, þat is most foule forto saye. Þerfore þe Lord haþ betaken hem into þe hondes of Sarsyns. Persidia schal be in caitifte & slauȝter. Capadocia also, þe lond of Sire schal be into wildernesse, and þe dwellers of hit schule be led caytif. Cilicia also, & þe dwelleris of hit in swerde schul perische. Grece schal be in slauȝter & caitifte. Auffrik also, men of Egipte & of þe eest londes, schul be vnder heuy tribute in siluer & gold of huge wiȝt. Spayn schal perische wiþ swerde & þei schule be led caytif. Fraunce, Germanie, Gyan[2], wiþ diuerse batails deuoured; many of hem schule be led caytif. Romayns schule be in slauȝter, & turned into fliȝt. Þe ylondes of þe see schulen be in dissolucioun. And þe sones

thousand years of the world, shall Fol. 22 b (2)

scourge the world because of its sins.

The Lord punishes Christian people because of their sins.

Saracens overcome all the nations.

Add. 37049

be withouten mesure & withouten mercy. And God sal gyf in-to þair handes al þe kyngdoms of gentyles[3] folk, for synnes þat we wyrk agayns þe commanndmentes of God. Þerfor God has taken vs into þe handes of barbarynes of hathen men, for we hafe forgytten þe commawndmentes of God. Cristen men dos mykel vnlefull þinges, for þai fyle þaim-selfe with syn þat is fowlest to be spokyn. Þerfore God has taken þaim in-to þe handes of Sarȝyns. Persida sal be in captyuyte & in slayng & Capadoce also, þe lande of Syrie sal be made waste & þe dwellers of it put in thraldrom. Cicilia & þe dwellers in it sal perysche with swerde. Grek sal be in slayng & thraldom. Affrica also, Egypcianes & þe este, & Asia sal be vnder tribut greuos in siluer & gold. Spayne sal perysche with swerde & þe dwellers of * it put in thraldom. Frawnse, Germany, Agothaina, with diuers batels be deuoured & put in thraldom. Þe Romaynes sal be in slayng & turned & fle in yles of þe se in dissolucion. Fol. 14 a

[1] In left margin a hand pointing to this.

[2] Lat. Aquitania.

[3] Crossed out very heavily with red ink.

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Even Jerusalem shall be conquered by the sons of Ismael.

Evils of all kinds shall come to the Church and the people, under the rule of the Saracens.

The way of anguish.

of Hismael schule holde entree from norþe, & eest, & souþe, & west. And Ierusalem schal be filled wiþ alle folkes þat schulen be led caitif. And þe lond of biheest schal be filled of alle men. Þe ȝok of hem schal be heuy vppon alle folkis, & alle þingis schulen be vnder þe ȝok of hem & in þe tribute of hem. & alle ournamntis of riche men schule be of hem; and what þingis were in þe chirchis of halowes, eiþer gold, or siluer, or preciouse stones. And alle ournamentis of chirchis schulen be of þe riche men of hem. And þei schulen dele þe mynisteries of God. And þe prestis schule be as þe peple, whan chirches schule be brent. And þere schal be myche tribulacioun. And þei schul caste þe bodies of hem in þe stretis, for þat þere beþ not þat schule burye. And þe weye schal be fro þe see vnto þe see. And regiouns schulen be wiþoute weye. And þe weye of hem schal be cleped þe wey of angwische. And þei schule go to-gidre seruauntis & olde men, riche men & pore, wiþ affliccioun & weilynge, schule seye: 'Blessid be þei * þat

Fol. 23 a (1)

Add. 37049

And þe sonnes of Ysmael sal opteyne fro þe north, fro þe este, & fro þe sowthe, fro þe weste. And Jerusalem sal be fyld of al pepyll þat sal be led in captiuyte. And þe land of beheste sal be fyld of al folkes. And þe ȝoke sal be heuy opon al folkes, & þai sal be vndyr þe ȝoke of þaim, & tribute.

And al þe anowrnmentes of ryche men sal be þairs. & þa þat was in þe kyrk of sayntes, owder gold or syluer, or precious stones. & al þe anourmmentes [1] of þe kyrk sal be þairs. And þai sal distribut þe mynyster þinges of God. & þe prestes sal be as þe pepyll sal be, when þe kyrkes sal be byrnt. & þer sal be gret tribulacion. And þai sal cast þe bodyes of þaim in þe stretes or in þe ways, & none for to bery þaim. And þe way of þe Sarȝyns sal be fro se to se. And regions sal be þe way, & þe way of þaim sal be cald sorowe. And þai sal go to-geder ȝong men, ryche men, & pore men, & old men with turmentyng & sorow & þai sal say: 'Beati sunt illi qui de hac luce nos pro-

[1] Poorly written.

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Harl. 1900

wente before vs of þis liȝt.' Seynt Poul beforseide þese þingis: 'Whanne dissencioun comeþ first, & þe sone of perdicioun, þe man of synne were schewid.' What is elles but dissencioun & discipline þurȝ which þe dwelleris of al erþe schul be corrumped of þe sones of Hismael. Þerfore God cleped Hismael, þe fader[1] of hem, a wilde asse, þe prophete seiynge, wylde asses, & geet, & desert, þat is, & ech kynde of bestis vppon þe flok is rauyschinge. Þerfore þei schule bytake al erþe into dissolucioun, & many citees schul be distried. Þilke men beþ not as oþer folkis, but þei beþ þe sones of wildernesse to-comynge, to men hateful. Here þe gaderinge togidre of hem, whan þei beþ to go out of wildernesse. Wymen hauynge her birþe withynne, to-gidre þei schulen sle wiþ swerde. In þe chirchis of seyntis, þei schule ligge wiþ wymmen. And wiþ holy vestimentis of chirchis, þei schulen cloþe hem & her wyues. Her horsis þei schule tyȝe to þe sepulcris of seyntis, as to rackis. And grete tribulacioun schal be vppon Cristen men.

Dissension and corruption in the earth.

They shall slay women with child and desecrate the Holy Place.

In the midst of this great tribulation

Add. 37049

cesserunt. Blissid ar þai þat went before vs fro þis light of þis warld.' Þis Saynt Paule sayd before: 'Cum venerit discessio primum, & reuelatus fuerit homo peccati & perdicionis.' What is fyrst departyng bot discipline, þorow þe whilk al þe dwellers on erth er chastyd of þe sonnes of Ismael. Þerfore Onagrum deus appelauit Ismaelem. God cald Ismael þe fader of þaim a wylde asse. Þies pepyl ar not as oþer folk, * bot þai are sonnes to cum oute of wildernes, & þai ar hateful to men. Here þe folewyng of þaim þat ar to cum oute of þe wildyrnes. Þai sal sla women with childe. And prestes in holy places þai sal kylle. & in þe kyrkes of sayntes þai sal lyg with þair wyfes, and with þe holy vestymentes of kyrkes þai sal clothe þaim & þair wyfes. And þe bestes þai sal bynde at þe grafes of sayntes as it wer to a mawnger. And þer sal be gret tribulacion opon Cristen folkes þat dwels opon þe erth.

Fol. 14 b

[1] In MS. after *fader* 'a' written and crossed out. In Lat. Onagrum. The scribe evidently misunderstood the word, but wrote its meaning.

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Harl. 1900

Christ shall appear,

And þanne schul appere þe trewe men, þat ben to trowe in Crist. Not þerfore, God haþ sent þese tribulaciouns, þat iustly þei be doon away, þat in Crist beþ to trowe, but þat þei be schewid, whiche in him most truly beþ to trowe. As þilk truþe itself seiþ: '3e beþ blessed, whanne þei haue pursued 3ou for my name.' Þus soþly þei pursuede þe prophetis þat weren before vs. But whiche dwelleþ still vnto þe ende, he[1] schal be saf. And after tribulaciouns of dayes, þat were made of þe sones of Hismael, and al þe erþe schal be dissolute of hem. And þei schule be cloþed wiþ ournamentis, wiþ gold, & purpur, & wiþ briȝt cloþinge as of spouses, seiynge: 'Þe Cristen men mowe not delyuere hem of oure hondes.' And ioiynge & of her victoryes seiynge: 'Lo we haue ouer-*comen þe erþe in oure strengþe, & alle þat dwellen in hit.' And þan þe Lord God schal haue mynde, after his grete mercy, þat he bihiȝt to hem þat loueþ him & which beþ to trowe in Crist, & he schal delyuer

Fol. 23 a (2)

who shall deliver his people from

Add. 37049

And þan sal þai appere þe trew men þat ar to trow in Criste. God sendes not þerfore þies tribulacions opon Cristen men, þat right-wis men be done away þat ar to trowe in Criste, bot þat þai be schewed þat ar for to trowe faythfully in Criste. As Veritas ait[2]: 'Beati eritis cum persecuti vos fuerint propter nomen meum. Blissed sal 3e be when þai persewe 3ow for my name &c.' So hafe þai persewed prophetes þat war before 3ow. Bot he þat perseuers vnto þe ende he sal be safe. And after þe tribulacions of þe dayes þat sal be done of þe sonnes of Ismael, al erth sal be made desolate of þaim. And þai sal be cled with ornamentes of gold & purpyll, & with schynyng clothes, sayng, þat Cristen men may not be delyuerd * fro oure handes. And þai sal ioy in þair victorys, & say: 'Behold we hafe ouercummen þe erth in our strenthe & al þat dwels in it.' Than sal rememmyr our Lord God after hys beheste, þe whilk he hyght to þaim þat lufs hym & ar to trow in Criste. And he sal delyuer þaim

Fol. 15 a

[1] MS. 'þis schal', 'he' inserted before 'þis'; 'he' left margin.

[2] Lat. Salvator noster ita niquiens.

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Harl. 1900

hem of þe hond of Sarsyns. A kyng[1] forsoþe of *Cri*sten men schal arise & schal fi3te wiþ hem, & schal sle hem *with* swerde, and he schal lede þe wy*m*men of he*m* caitif. And þe children of he*m* schule p*e*rische. And þe sones of Hismael schul falle into swerde, & into t*ri*bulacio*un* & afflictio*un*. And God schal 3elde to hem þe eueles þat þei haue do to o*þer*e. And as reyn þe malice of hem schal falle into hem, seuene tymes so mych*e* as þei haue doon in o*þer*e. And he schal betake hem into þe hondes of *Cri*st*en* men. And þe rewme of *Cri*sten men schal be enhaunsed vppon alle rewmes. And *Cri*sten men schu len put vppon hem an heuy 3ok, and þei þat remayneþ schule be *ser*uau*n*tis.

the hands of the Saracens. A Christian king shall deliver the people from the evils.

The kingdom of the Christians shall influence all kingdoms,

And þan þe lond schal be peesid, þat of hem was destruyed, and whiche were taken p*ri*soneris of hem schule t*ur*ne a3en into her lond. And men shule be multiplied vppon erþe. And þ*er*e schal be grete indignacio*un* to þe kyng of Romayns, vppon hem þat haue denyed Crist. And þ*er*e schal be pees & grete reste vppon erþe, which was not before ne*þer* þ*er*e schal be like

and the land shall be at peace.

Add. 37049

fro þe handes of þe Sar3yns. The Cristen pepyl sal ryse vp & fight *with* þai*m*, & sal kyll þai*m* *with* swerde, & lede þ*er* wyfes i*n*-to thraldom, & sla þair 3ong childe*r*. And þe childer of Ismael sal descende i*n*-to swerde & tribulac*i*on & affliccion. And o*ur* Lord God sal 3eld to þai*m* þe ylls þ*at* þai dyd to o*þer*; & þ*er* sal falle opon þai*m* seuen tymes als mykil malyce als þai dyd to o*þer*. And God sal take þai*m* i*n*-to þe handes of Cristen pepyll. And þe kyngdom of Cristen pepyll sal be exaltyd abowne al o*þer* kyngdoms. & Cristen men sal put a heuy 3oke on þai*m*, & al þat sal be left of þai*m* sal be seruan*des*.

And þ*an* sal þe erth be made pesabyl, þ*at* was dystroyed of þai*m*. And þai þat wer i*n* captiuite & thraldom of þai*m* sal cu*m* agayne i*n* to þair awne lande. And man sal be multiplyed opo*n* erth. And gret i*n*dignac*i*on sal be to þe kyng of Romaynes opon þai*m* þ*at* denyed Crist. Egipcij & Arabes has denyed Crist. And þ*er* sal be pese & gret reste opon erth, swilk as has

[1] A rude drawing of hand and finger pointing to this in right margin.

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Harl. 1900

after hit, for þat þat hit schal be *in* þe laste ende of worldes.
Gladness and peace shall be upon the earth. Then shall they be as in the days of Noah. Then shall come Gog and Magog, and the people shall be smitten with great dread.
And [1] *þere* schal be gladnesse & pees vppon al erþe, þei schule*n* reste from tribulaciouns. 'Whanne *þere* were pees & reste & sikirnesse, þan schal be sodeyn drede.' And men schule*n* be in þilke dayes, as þei were in þe dayes of Noe, etynge and drinkinge, gladinge & [2] weddinge; & in þe herte of hem schal not be drede. So schal be þe commynge of hem as Gog & Magog. & whan pees were *þer*, þanne þe ȝates of Caspie schule be vndoon *in* þe sides of þe norþe. & þilke folkis schule*n* come wiþ Gog & Magog. And al erþe schal be smyten to-gidre for drede of hem. & þei schule bigynne to wexe pale for drede, alle men
Fol. 23 b (1) þat dwellen vppon erþe. And * þei schule hyde hem-silf in hilles and in spelunkis, from þe siȝt of hem. Of þe progenye forsoþe of hem beþ Iapht, out goynge ouer þe tentis of þe norþe. Siche *þer*fore schul ete þe flesche of men, & serpentis, &
Terror shall last for seven years, iumentis; wymmen wiþ lytel children þei schule ete. And *þere* is no man þat may aȝenstonde hem. And after VII ȝere

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Add. 37049

Fol. 15 b not bene before, ne ȝit sal be lyk it afterward, * for *þat* þat it is *in* þe ende of þe warld. & *þer* sal be gladnes & pes opon þe erth, & þai sal hafe reste of *þer* tribulacions. Þis is þe pes of þe whilk þe Apostil says: 'Cum fuerit tranquillitas & securitas; tunc ueniet repentinus interitus. When it is reste & sykyrnes, þan sal cum sodan dethe.' And men sal be *in* þos dayes as it was *in* þe dayes of Noe, etyng & drynkyng & weddyng; & *þer* sal no drede be *in* þe hertes of þaim. And when pes is þus, þan sal be opynd þe ȝates of Caspy *in* þe syde of þe northe. And þai folkes sal cum oute with Gog & Magog, & al erthe sal be strykkyn for drede of þaim. And al men on erth sal drede & hyde þaim *in* mowntes, & caues, & dennes, fro þe sight of þaim. Þai ar of þe kynryden of Japhet; & a plage sal go oute of þe north. And þai ete þe flesche of men, & serpentes, & bestes, & women with childer þai sal ete. And *þer* sal be none þat may feght with þaim. And aftyr seuen ȝere

[1] Large capital 'A' in red.
[2] Not in MS., but written above, with caret in text.

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Harl. 1900

of þilke tymes þei schule take þe cite Iosephen[1]. & þan þe Lord schal sende oon of his princis, & schal smyte hem with sulphur & fuyre vnder a moment. And þe emperour of Grece schal come, & schal sitte in Ierusalem VII 3ere. And þanne schal appere þe sone of perdicioun, þat is seide Anticrist. He schal be bore in Coro3aim, he schal be norischid in Bethsaida, he schal regne in Capharnaum. Þerfore þe Lord seide in þe gospel: 'Woo to þee, Coro3aim! Woo to þee, Bethsaida! Wo to þee, Capharnaum! 3if þou be enhaunsed vnto heuene, til into helle þou schalt be drenchid.'

when the Lord shall send one of his princes to smite them with sulphur and fire. Then shall come Antichrist the son of Perdition,

Afterward þe kyng of Romayns & of Grekis schal sty3e up in Golgatha, in þat place in which þe Lord vouched saaf to suffre deþ for us in þe cros. Þe kyng of Romayns schal do awey þe croun of his hede, & schal put hit vppon þe cros. And he schal strecche abrode his hondes to heuene, & þe kyng of Cristen men schal betake his soule to God, & þanne þe signe of þe cros schal appere in heuene. After þese þingis þe sone of perdicioun schal

when Rome and Greece shall fight, and the King of Rome shall stretch his hands to Heaven, and shall entrust his soul to God, when the sign of

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Add. 37049

þai sal entyr in-to cyte of Iosaphen. And þan sal our Lord sende one of hys princys, & he sal stryke þaim with leuenyng & fyre in a moment. And þe emprour of Greke sal cum & sytt in Ierusalem seuen 3ere. And þan sal apere þe son of perdicion, þat is to say Antecrist. He sal be borne in Coro3aym, & he sal be noresched in Bethsayda, & reyne in Capharnaum as our Lord say in þe gospel: 'Ve tibi Coro3aim! ve tibi Bethsayda! ve tibi Capharnaum! Wo be to þe, Coro3aym! wo be to þe, Bethsayda! wo be to þe, Chapharnaum! for if þou sal be exalted vnto heuen, in-to helle þow sal be * drowned.'

Fol. 16 a

Afterward þe kyng of Romaynes & of Greke sal ascende in Golgatha in þe place, wher our Lord Ihesus Crist vowchedsafe to sufferd deth for vs opon þe cros. And þe kyng of Romaynes sal take þe crowne of his hede & put it opon þe cros, & hold vp his handes vnto heuen, & 3eld his spirit vn-to God, þe kyng of Cristen men, & þan sal appere þe tokyn of þe holy cros in heuen. After þis sal cum þe son of perdicioun, Antecrist. And he sal

[1] Lat. Ioppen.

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Harl. 1900

the Cross shall appear in Heaven. Then shall come the son of perdition, and shall enter into Jerusalem, and shall sit in the temple of God.

come, trowynge hi*m*-self þat he is God, & þe herte of hi*m* schal be enhau*n*sed myche, siþþe he is a man of ma*n*nes seed, of þe kynred of Dan. & he schal make signes & many me*r*ueilis vppo*n* erþe, þat blynde men se, lame me*n* go, deef men here, dede me*n* as þou3 þei rise. And 3if it may be do[1] þat chosen men be led into erro*rs*, he schal entre soþly into Ierusale*m*, & he schal sitte i*n* þe temple of God, trowinge hymsilf as þou3 he be God. And he schal be disseyuable, & by disseyte he schal begyle many men. Afte*r* þese þingis þe Lord schal sende his most * clere se*r*uauntes Enoch & Elye, þat i*n* witnessinge of hi*m* were kepte, to repreue þilke enemye. And þa*n*ne þe laste schule be firste. And þe Iewis schule be to bileue. Forsoþe Helyas & Enoch schule re*p*reue hym before al þe peple. And þei schule schewe hym to be a liere, & disseyuable, & co*n*fused. Soþly alle folkes seynge þe leesinge hym forþberinge, & of þe holy men of god confused; & þa*n*ne þe Iewes schul bileue. Of ech kynrede of þe sones of Isra*e*l schule be sleyn for Crist an hundrid XLIIII

Fol. 23 b (2)

Then the Lord shall send his servants, Enoch and Elijah, to reprove the enemy. They will show the son of perdition to be a liar.

Add. 37049

be trowed as he war God & he sal do many tokens and wonders, dede men sal seme as þai rase vp, & blynd men as þai sawe, & halt men go. And he sal entyr i*n*to Ierusalem, & sytt i*n* þe te*m*pyl of God, semyng as he war God. & his hert sal be exaltyd gretly disputtyng as he war God. & he sal be fals & wyrk disceytfulnes & begyle many one. He sal be of þe kynredyn of Dan, wher of Jacob sayd: 'Fiat Dan coluber i*n* via etc. Dan sal be a se*r*pent i*n* þe way,[2] & cerastes i*n* semita[2], & a horned se*r*pent i*n* þe strayt way.' And afte*r* þis sal *our* Lord send his two se*r*uande*s* Enoch & Hely, þat ar left i*n* his witnes to reprofe þis enmy; & þai sal rep*r*ofe hy*m* before al þe pepyl, & schew hy*m* a lyer, & fals, & confused. And when folke*s* sees þ*us* co*n*fused & made lyer of þin holy saynte*s*, þai sal do pena*n*ce. And þa*n* sal þe Iewes of ilk a kynryden of Israel trow i*n* Crist. And þa*n* sal þe*r* be slayne for Criste a hu*n*dreth & foure & fourty þowsand i*n* þais

[1] Blotted.

[2-2] Not plainly written in MS.

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Harl. 1900

þousandis in þilke dayes. Þane Antic*rist*, *in* woodnesse fulfilled, schal comau*n*de þe holy men of God to be slayn, & whiche to hem beþ to bileue. And þa*n*ne schal come oure Lord Ihesu Crist, þe sone of quyk God *in* þe cloudes of heuene wiþ com-
5 panyes of angels, & wiþ heue*n*ly joye. Christ shall appear,

Anoon whan Antic*rist* is sleyn, þe beest, þe enemy, þe dis-
seyue*r*, wiþ þe swerde of his mouþe, & whiche þat han consented
to hi*m*, þe endinge of þe world schal be, & þe dome schal be.
Where of angels schule be, þousandes of þousandes & ten tymes
10 an hundrid þousandis of archaungels, cherubyn & seraphyn.
þ*er*e þe companyes of holy men, of pr*o*phetis, of patriarchis, of
apostles, of martiris, of co*n*fessours, of virgyns. þ*er*e, soþly,
sy*n*neris & iuste men schule ȝelde reso*u*n before þe siȝte of God,
as þei han doon. Þe iuste me*n* schule be dep*ar*ted fro þe
15 wickid; þe iuste me*n* schule schyne as þe su*n*ne, folewynge þe
lombe of lif, & þe kyng of heue*n* eue*r*more, seynge þe clerenesse
of god *in* heuenes. And wiþ au*n*gels þei schul be felawschiped
for eue*r*more. Vniuste men soþly *with* þe beest schule descende

and slay the Antichrist, and then the end of the world shall be.

In Heaven shall be a great company of angels, apostles, martyrs, just men, all following the Lamb of Life and the King of Heaven.

Add. 37049

days. And þa*n* [sal][1] Antecriste be f[ild][1] *with* wodnes, & com-
20 ma*n*de to sla þe sayn*tes** of God, & al þ*at* ar to trowe to þa*im*. And Fol. 16 b
our Lord Jh*esus* Criste sal cu*m*, þe son of God, *in* þe clowdes of
heue*n*, *with* co*m*penys of angels & heue*n*ly ioy. And onone he
sal sla þis beste, Antecrist enmy & disceyfer, *with* þe swerd
of his mowthe, & al þ*at* co*n*sentyd vnto hy*m*. And þe endyng
25 of þe warld sal be & þe dome. Wher þowsand*es* of þowsand*es*
& ten tymes hu*n*dreth þowsand*es* of archangels, cherubyn, &
seraphyn sal be þ*er*. And þ*er* sal be co*m*penys of sayn*tes*, of
patriarchs, pr*o*phet*es*, apostils, martyrs, co*n*fesso*urs*, ver*g*yns,
& of al sayn*tes*. Þar sal be rightwism*en*, & sy*n*ners sal ȝelde
30 a-cownte & reson before þe sight of God how ilk one has done.
& þe right-wism*en* sal be dep*ar*ted fro þe wykidm*en*. And þe
right-wism*en* sal schyne as þe son, fowlowyng þe la*m*me of lyfe &
þe kyng of heue*n*, seyng alway e cle rnes of god *in* heue*n*. & þai
sal be felischipd þ*er* to eue*r*more. Þe wykkyd me*n* sal desce*n*de

[1] Torn away.

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Harl. 1900

Just men shall be glorified, but wicked men shall suffer pain.

into helle. Juste men, soþly, for euermore schul lyue, and wiþ þe kyng of heuene schule be glorifyed or gladed. And wickid men wiþouten ende schule suffre peyne. Wherefore þe Lord vouche he saaf to delyuere us, *qui cum precibus*, &c.

Explicit liber Metodij *episcopi*.

Add. 37049

with þe beste Antecriste in-to helle. Þe right-wis men sal lyf euer, & with þe kyng of heuen sal ioy withouten ende. And wikkyd men withouten end sal be ponesched. Fro þe whilk our Lord vowtschesafe to delyuer vs, þe whilk lyfes & reynes with fader & son & holy goste, God by infynyte warldes of warld. Amen.

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GLOSSARY

A

abegged, *pp.* a-begging, 60/8.
abliche, *adv.* fitly, 71/9.
adreynt, *pp.* drowned, 78/14.
a3ensaye, *inf.* contradict, deny, 29/10.
a3enstonde, *inf.* withstand, oppose, 108/17.
aleggide, *pp.* alleged, affirmed, 92/17.
aleiþ, *pr.* 3 *s.* adduces, 78/11; *pt.* 3 *s.* aleyde, 87/26.
alowed, *pp.* approved, commended, 42/30.
arere, *inf.* raise, 33/3.
assaye, *sb.* trial, test, 64/13.
assoyle, *inf.* explain, 48/14.

B

bedemen, *sb.* beadsmen, 43/14.
bedes, *sb.* prayers, 47/24.
beheste, *pt.* 3 *s.* promised, 101/18.
betaken, *pp.* committed, 103/2.
biggers, *sb.* buyers, 6/24.
bihet, *pt.* 1 *s.* promised, 40/20.
biqueþe, *pp.* bequeathed, 44/24.
bobans, *sb.* pomp, pride, 21/3.
buriels, *sb.* place of burial, 42/14.
busche, *pr. pl. subj.* strike, beat, 37/7.
buþ, *pr. pl.* are, 33/8.
bygge, *inf.* build, 98/24.
bynyme, *inf.* take away, 35/9; *pp.* bynome, 21/5, 54/6.
byquyt, *pp.* acquitted, 47/20.

C

catel, *sb.* property, chattels, 24/10, 88/12.
caucioun, *sb.* security, pledge, 10/8.
cautels, *sb.* artifices, 55/15.
chaffre, *sb.* merchandise, 45/28.
chalange, *inf.* claim, 62/22.
chambred, *pp.* restrained, held in control, 6/8.
chanons, *sb.* canons, 62/10.
charge, *sb.* load, 33/7.
chastee, *inf.* chastise, 13/12.
chese, *inf.* choose, 46/21.
chyualrie, *sb.* knighthood, 23/1.
clergie, *sb.* learning, 59/17.
closiþ, *pr.* 3 *s.* encloses, 48/30.
compray, *scribal error for* **y pray**, 19/16; *cp.* MS. Stowe 65, 'y praye þat hey lete vs habbe oure'.
comyneþ, *pr. pl.* associate, 25/7.
comynte, *sb.* community, 33/5.
conseruatours, *sb.* bishops appointed by the Pope to protect the privileges of the friars, 55/23.
conuersacioun, *sb.* manner of life, 39/21, 79/28.
corrumped, *pp.* corrupted, 105/4.
couenable, *adj.* suitable, fit, 53/1, 59/14.
cupes, *sb.* baskets, 6/14.

D

deler, *sb.* divider, 15/17.
deles, *sb.* parts, 64/6.
desauauntes, *sb.* disadvantages, 43/27.
deþliche, *adv.* while mortal, 7/14.
discreuede, *pt.* 3 *s.* described, 70/18.
disparpled, *pp.* scattered, 98/7.
dissolute, *adj.* = desolate, 106/9.
done, *adv.* down, 102/28.
dowyng, *sb.* endowment, 85/27.

E

eche þ, *pr.* 3 *s.* augments, adds to, 83/18.
emcristen, *sb.* fellow-christian, 56/19.
enioye, *inf.* = enjoin, 46/30.
entredited, *pp.* interdicted, prohibited, 42/3.
erye, *inf.* plough, 89/23.
eþer, *conj.* or, 42/1.
euereiþer, *pron.* both, 99/13.
eyr, *sb.* heir, 15/2.

F

fale, *adj.* many, 78/18.
fang, feng, *v.* **fong.**
faytour, *sb.* impostor, 84/9.

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ferþe, *adj.* fourth, 64/6.
fest, *inf.* set up, 101/19.
feye, *sb.* faith, belief, 65/4.
ficche, *inf.* set up, 101/3.
fillen, *pt. pl.* fell, 100/16.
flatrie wiþ, *inf.* flatter, court, 29/6.
folly, *inf.* baptize, 71/28.
fonded, *pt.* 1 *s.* tried, 48/19.
fong, *inf.* take, receive, 21/8; *pr. pl.* **fang**, 21/14; *pt.* 3 *s.* **feng**, 11/1; *pl.* 82/4.
forbeding, *part. adj.* prohibitory, 41/18.
forgendriþ, *pr.* 3 *s.* disregards, 48/10.
forþe, *adv.* far, 29/8.
frusshe, *inf.* crush, 7/32.
fulfild, *pp.* filled full, 92/5.
fundacioun, *sb.* establishment, rules and ordinances, 47/4.

G

gaftis, 99/3, *read* **craftis**.
goostlich, *adj.* spiritual, 28/15.
gossippes, *sb.* familiar acquaintances, 73/11.
grucchying, *sb.* grouching, murmuring, 24/14.

ȝ

ȝede, *pt.* 3 *s.* walked, 6/17.
ȝeldiþ, *imp. pl.* yield, give, pay, 21/16.

H

harder, *adv.* more strongly, 81/21.
heeste, *sb.* command, 57/15.
heet, *v.* **hoote**.
heelful, *adj.* salutary, healthful, 74/6.
heiȝlich, *adv.* especially, 89/29.
heliynge, *sb.* roofing, slating, tiling, 99/3; **helyng**, 21/14; clothing, 23/4.
heres = here [bodie]s, Lat. *suorum corporum*, 67/15.
heye, *sb.* (church)yard, 42/9.
homliche, *adj.* familiar, 55/31.
honging, *part. adj.* pending, 79/25.
hoote, *inf.* command, 3/12; **hote**, 3/15; *pt.* 3 *s.* **heet**, 69/24.
housle, *inf.* administer the eucharist to, 71/28.
hyȝe, *imp. s.* hie, hasten, 90/20.

I

indistinctlich, *adv.* without distinction, 72/28.

J

ioyne, *inf.* enjoin, 47/19.
iumentis, *sb.* beasts of burden, 101/9; 108/16.

K

kynde, *sb.* nature, 16/10.
kyndelich, *adj.* natural, 85/14.
kynryden, *sb.* kindred, 108/30.

L

lasse, *adv.* less, 45/10.
leef, *adj.* dear, 43/2.
leese, *inf.* lose, 32/16; **lese**, 21/7.
lered, *part. adj.* learned, 60/13.
lesyngis, *sb.* lies, 56/25.
letteþ, *pr.* 3 *s.* hinders, 76/4.
leue, *inf.* remain, 59/17; *pr.* 3 *s.* **leueþ**, 81/24.
leuenyng, *sb.* lightning, 109/19.
lewed, *adj.* lay, 1/4, 60/13; **lewide**, 31/13.
leyde, *pp.* adduced, 9/9; *aph. form of* OF. aleier; *cp.* **aleiþ**.
lond leper, *sb.* vagabond, 54/9.
louȝ, *pt.* 1 *s.* laughed, 3/6.
lynages, *sb.* tribes, 41/14.
lystere, *sb.* reader, 63/4.

M

make, *inf.* bring about, 48/27.
manhed, *sb.* humanity, 19/13.
manliche, *adv. for* **nameliche**, especially, 52/27.
mawmetre, *sb.* idolatry, 57/30.
medled, *pp.* mixed, 101/9.
medliþ, *pr.* 3 *s.* concerns, 9/1.
menoures, *sb.* Franciscans, 48/6.
monchons, *sb.* nuns, 73/10.
monicioun, *sb.* admonition, 13/13.
mynyster, *sb.* minster; m. **þinges**, church ornaments, 104/26.

N

namelich, *adv.* especially, 65/9.
nere, *pt.* 3 *s. subj.* were not, 25/15.
nesche, *adj.* soft, 26/9.
nice, *adj.* stupid, 91/3.
nolles, *sb.* heads, necks, 102/4.
noot, *pr.* 1 *s.* know not, 57/11.
nouys, *sb.* novice, 71/10.

O

oblege, *inf.* oblige, pledge, 68/2.
obstaunce, *sb.* opposition, objection, 75/26.

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olifauntis, *sb.* elephants, 100/7.
onyng, *sb.* union, 15/14.
opteyned, *pt.* 3 *s.* gained, 99/31.
ouer, *adj.* higher, 13/15.
outrage, *sb.* excess, 79/15.
outtake, *pp.* excepted, 14/1; except, 73/10.
owe, *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* may own, 33/10.

P

parischons, *sb.* parishioners, 40/10.
penitaunsers, *sb.* priests appointed to give absolution in extraordinary cases, 44/29, 63/4.
prechours, *sb.* Dominicans, 48/7.
preuy, *adj.* intimate, 44/5.
primate, *sb.* supremacy, 74/10.
principates, *sb.* principalities, 10/14.
put of, *inf.* put aside, 36/3.
putt to, *inf.* add, 36/12.

Q

quyte, *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* give up, 76/20.

R

raþer, *adv.* earlier, 5/9, 25/11.
relef, *sb.* remains of a meal, 6/14.
relesche, *inf.* revoke, 75/28.
reulere, *adj.* regular, monastic, 62/10.
ruþeren, *sb.* oxen, cattle, 41/18.

S

sauacioun, *sb.* preservation, 24/9.
sawes, *sb.* saws, sayings, 48/22.
seculers, *sb.* secular priests, 59/2.
sewe, *inf.* follow, 91/12; *pr.* 3 *s.* sweþ, 45/20.
seyȝ, *pt.* 3 *s.* saw, 7/3; siȝ, 22/7; syȝ, 67/33; *pl.* syȝe, 56/30.
sigge, *inf.* say, 92/5; *pr. pl.* siggeþ, 21/2.
siker, *adj.* sure, secure, 41/32.
sillers, *sb.* sellers, 6/25.
skilful, *adj.* reasonable, 33/3; *a mistake for* wilful (L. *spontaneae*), 70/16.
skilfullich, *adv.* reasonably, 28/14.
skyle, *sb.* reason, 18/9.
slake, *inf.* loose, slacken, 64/29.
sleiȝþe, *sb.* sleight, contrivance, 44/18.
slow, *pt.* 3 *s.* slew, 95/4.
snarled, *pp.* entangled, ensnared, 45/9.
somned, *pp.* summoned, 55/23.
souereynes, *sb.* superiors, 75/4.
sparpyld, *pp.* scattered, 98/24.
spelunkis, *sb.* caves, 108/13.
spiritualte, *sb.* ecclesiastical authority, 3/3.
spouse-bruch, *sb.* adultery, 57/19.
stalþe, *sb.* stealing, 76/19.
stater, *sb.* an ancient coin, 31/3.
styȝe, *inf.* rise up, ascend, 109/11; *pr. pl.* stieþ, 74/24.
stondyng, *adj.* continuing in existence (Lat. *stante statuto*), 48/25.
suffre, *inf.* endure, 71/9.
suggettes, *sb.* those under bishop's spiritual jurisdiction, 59/11.
syȝ, *v.* seyȝ.
syngulerliche, *adv.* especially, 41/5.

T

temporalte, *sb.* temporal possessions of the clergy, 2/13.
terme, *sb.* period, 46/7.
teþingis, *sb.* tithes, 41/16.
to-haleþ, *pr. pl.* pull asunder, 24/11.
tolleþ, *pr. pl.* entice, 58/15.
twey, *adj.* two, 6/2.

Þ

theker, *sb.* thatcher, 99/18.
þewes, *sb.* manners, virtues, 81/20.
þine, *adv. for* þene, then, 99/25.
þouȝ, *prep.*, as if, 48/1.

U

vnbuxomnesse, *sb.* disobedience, 61/15.
vncouenablich, *adv.* unsuitably, 85/19.
vndercast, *pp.* made subject, 102/8.
vndertoke, *pt. pl.* rebuked, 19/5.
vnkunnyng, *sb.* ignorance, 41/26.
vnkynde, *adj.* unnatural, 55/1.
vnmebles, *sb.* goods not moveable, 71/16.
vnneþe, *adv.* scarcely, 45/4.
vnsobre = Lat. hebrei (*taken as* ebrii), 102/10.

V

values, *sb.* doors, 27/11.
vicarie, *sb.* representative, 5/10.
voide, *imp. s.* avoid, 61/3.

W

war, *imp. s.* beware, shun, 61/3.
wemme, *sb.* spot, stain, 75/30.
werne, *inf.* refuse, 60/21.

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weyteþ, *pr.* 3 *s.* watches, 91/6.
wiȝt, *sb.* weight, 59/31, 60/2.
wilne, *inf.* desire, 3/11.
wiþclepiþ, *pr.* 3 *s.* recalls, revokes, 34/4.
wiþsaiyng, *sb.* contradiction, 48/30.
wiþsigge, *pr.* 1 *s.* deny, contradict, 5/3; *pl.* **wiþsiggeþ**, 49/12.
wone, *sb.* abundance, 20/5.
wonye, *inf.* dwell, 41/15.
worschip, *sb.* honour, 10/6.

Y

y-chargide, *pp.* commanded, 81/21.
y-ȝalde, *pp.* paid, 54/31.
y-herbored, *pp.* lodged, 91/1.
y-hote, *pp.* commanded, 13/9.
y-nowȝ, *adv.* enough, 4/4.
y-schend, *pp.* disgraced, 27/1.
y-seye, *pp.* seen, 1/7.
y-snarled, *pp.* entangled, 46/5, 77/11.
y-socyed, *pp.* joined, 70/30.
y-telied, *pp.* tilled, 32/15.
y-trauaylled, *pp.* tired, troubled, 93/24.
y-wralled, *pp.* bound, 46/4; *v.* N.E.D. *sub* warling.

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